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WOODBROOKE STUDIES

VOL. II

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WOODBROOKE STUDIES

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI, EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS

BY

A. MINGANA

WITH TWO INTRODUCTIONS

BY

RENDEL HARRIS

VOLUME 2

1. TIMOTHY'S APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY
2. THE LAMENT OF THE VIRGIN
3. THE MARTYRDOM OF PILATE

Reprinted from the "BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY," *Volume* 12, 1928

CAMBRIDGE
W. HEFFER & SONS LIMITED
1928

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present volume is the second of the series of the "Woodbrooke Studies" which I have drawn from texts contained in MSS. of my own collection.

I have followed with interest the reviews of the first volume of the "Studies" which have appeared in the leading theological and Oriental journals of Europe and America, especially those printed in Germany. I wish here to express my thanks for the appreciative remarks of all the scholars who have discoursed on the theme, and to assure them that I have taken notice of their words of friendly criticism concerning the form and arrangement of the "Studies" whenever I have felt justified in doing so, with a view to further improvement.

In answer to inquiries, I may here state: (*a*) that the photographic reproductions appearing in the "Studies" are executed at Bournville, Birmingham; (*b*) that my collection of MSS. on Christian literature in Syriac, Garshūni, Arabic and Ethiopic has been given in trust by Mr. Edward Cadbury to the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham, the name of which appears on the title-page of the "Studies."

A word of thanks is due to the Aberdeen University Press and to the Arabic and Syriac compositors for the satisfactory way in which they have performed a difficult task.

It is a pleasing duty to express my gratitude to my venerable friend for the vigour of his two Introductions and the virility of his inimitable style.[1]

A. MINGANA.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY,
1*st August*, 1928.

[1] His curious slip to the effect that Luke was the recorder of the dream of Pilate's wife instead of Matthew has been corrected in the present volume.

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WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS.

BY RENDEL HARRIS.

FASC. 3.

The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the year 781 A.D. in the reign of Mahdi, the third of the Abbassid Caliphs at Bagdad, there occurred a two-days' debate between the Catholicos or Patriarch of the East Syrian Church (who was also the recognised head of all Eastern Christians) and the Caliph himself, as being the spiritual and temporal head of the Mohammedan religion. It was a time when Islam was in the freshness of its new faith and animated by the glory of those sweeping triumphs by which the Most Holy (blessed is He !) appeared to have attested the call to belief and the associated call to arms of his new prophet and messenger. With the final consolidation of the new faith and the necessary canonisation of its great document (one book this time, not four), there had come also the dawn of a new civilisation, of which Mohammed himself had never dreamed, and the splendour of Bagdad, founded by Mahdi's predecessor, Mansur, had, to some extent, retrieved the age-long ruins of its neighbour, Babylon the Great. We are close to the days of the prime of Haroun al Raschid, who is, in fact, second son and ultimately the successor of the Caliph with whom the Patriarch Timothy held his debate, and he is actually engaged on a military expedition on behalf of his father for the further conquest of the unsubdued West, at the time when the discussion was taking place. What is more important for us to realise is, not that we

are near to the romantic days of Al Raschid, but that we are very close indeed to the days of Mohammed himself. Less than 150 years have elapsed since the death of the prophet; and it is not only in a historical sense that we are aware of contiguity with the first of the Commanders of the Faithful; in a literary sense we are even nearer still to the Islamic beginnings, for we have no earlier documentary evidence than the one before us of the relations between what is commonly regarded as decadent Christianity and dominant and minatory Islam. The period to which we refer is almost a *tabula rasa* for the history of Islam itself. So Dr. Mingana is directly contributing to Mohammedan history. Nor will the document, which is here published for the first time, be undervalued by either Christian or Moslem, if we find, on reading it, that Christianity, at least in Mesopotamia, was not so decadent as has been commonly assumed, nor Islam so blighted by intolerance, at least in Bagdad, as it has been in later days and under less generous rulers. So we may read the debate with an open mind, whether we are Moslems or Christians, and we shall at least be able to admit from either side, if we take sides with the Patriarch or with the Caliph, that the Christian religion is not a mere collection of traditions flanked and buttressed by obsolete practices and rituals, and that the Islamic doctrine, which has next to nothing to apologise for in the shape of obscure rituals, was, in the time of the early Abbassid Caliphs, undivorced from reason, and not requiring, either first or last, the sacrifice of the intellect. As we read the report of the conference, we shall be surprised to find how keen the two antagonists are to appreciate one another's arguments: the Patriarch praises the Caliph, endorsing from time to time his theology, and we feel the sincerity of his commendations, which outrun any possible cloak of hypocrisy; and the Caliph on his side is so touched by the piety and the eloquence of his antagonist that he breaks out into an appeal which, if done into Latin, would be, '*O cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*'

"If you accepted Mohammed as a prophet," said the Caliph, "your words would be beautiful and their meanings fine."

On the other side the Patriarch carries the language of conciliation so far as to startle a modern Christian reader; he does not, like Tennyson's Mogul Emperor, say,

"I stagger at the Korân and the sword;"

he uses the Ḳurān as a text-book in the debate, and, to a certain extent, allows the sword as a lawful instrument of propaganda, provided, of course, that it is used, like the Old Testament uses it, in the suppression of idolatry. "Who will not," says Timothy, "praise, honour, and exalt the one who not only fought for God in words, but showed also his zeal for him in the sword? as Moses did with the Children of Israel when he saw that they had fashioned a golden calf, and when he killed all those who were worshipping it . . ." from which it appears that Timothy would have made an excellent Puritan, and a great preacher of the Old Testament among the Ironsides; but we must not anticipate the general arguments of the new book, in the desire to assure our readers that they will not find a more temperate and judicious use of controversial weapons and methods than are disclosed in the document before us. One further preliminary caution may be given to those who read the book from the standpoint of what is called Orthodox Christianity. Do not be deterred from estimating the work rightly by a preliminary objection to the Christian representative (for he was the official representative of all the churches), as a Nestorian. It may, we think, safely be said that there is very little in Timothy's presentation of Christian doctrine which is not altogether in accord with Catholic definitions. Once indeed he deals a heavy blow at the Jacobite Syrians and the Greeks for their Patripassian theology, but this objection to a dying or a suffering God may be taken in an orthodox sense. We must not, of course, expect to find him betraying acquaintance with beliefs which are accretions to the Faith on the part of Western and mediæval Christianity such as, for example, the Assumption of the Virgin, of which he clearly knows nothing; his Mariolatry indeed is moderate enough; if, however, the modern reader does not ask too much from the Patriarch's noble confession of faith, he will find as much as he has a right to ask or to expect. And now let us turn to our Apology, and see what it tells us with regard to the opinions of the Moslems on the one hand, and the Christian believer on the other. A few words on Christian Apologetic in general will serve to introduce the matter.

Apology or the Defence of the Faith is inherent in the Christian religion, from its first publication and (we may safely say) to the very end of its possible existence as a religion. Our Lord Himself announced that Apology was a prime function of His believers and

followers. You shall be brought before Sanhedrin and beaten in Synagogues, yes! and before kings and rulers shall ye be set for my sake, to give your testimony to them. In this way Jesus describes what we may call a progressive Apologetic, an expanding defence; the judges change, the defence will change to match the court. It is a court of Jews to begin with, a court of world-rulers later on. Notice the vision of Jesus in the matter of Apology, and His implied assertion of His own central position in any legal proceedings against you for my sake. And as He is in the dock, and eternally numbered with the transgressors, His followers will be entrusted with two privileges; either they will be standing in the dock with Him and He with them, or they will be allowed to act as Counsel for His defence; He does not propose to pass either Jewish or Pagan courts without a proper *Apologia.*

Naturally the manner of the defence will vary, according to the constitution of the Court, and the code of laws which has been infringed. We shall, however, find that in Christian Apologia there is almost always a reminiscence of the fact that the first Court which sat to judge the Christian believer was a Jewish Sanhedrin. They had their own lictors, before ever Roman fasces were seen, and their "forty stripes save one" were the primal condemnation which developed into the "Non licet vos esse" of imperial power. It is important to keep this in mind because we shall see in the document before us abundant traces that the Testimony which Jesus foretold was, to begin with, a *Testimony against the Jews*, and that it was developed along this line, even though the Jewish advocates had ceased to appear, and the Jews themselves had come to be dismissed with contempt by the Christian Orator. One cannot understand Christian apologetic apart from the relation of Christianity to Judaism. We shall return to this point presently.

We were speaking of the Christian advocate under the name of the Orator, but we shall need to remind ourselves that this is just what Jesus warned his disciples not to be. They were not to premeditate, nor prepare set speeches; their position was to be on the one hand a prepared and preferred Silence, *plus* what we may without irreverence call the *Luck of the Holy Ghost.* The Spirit itself should tell them, at the very time of the inquisition, what they ought to say, as well as what they were to abstain from preparing to say. No doubt in the

first ages, and often in later ages, saints and martyrs have followed the counsel of their Master: it was, however, a counsel of perfection, which soon gave way to what seemed to be a more reasonable manner of affirming or confirming Christian truth; and so we have philosophers with documents, which they throw at the heads of princes, without waiting for the arrest which they may feel sure will not very long be deferred. Where there is no Court to which they may be handed over, they will make use of literature, especially in the form of *Dialogue*, and say in book-form the things which they would like to say in a full and open Court. Justin Martyr, for instance, does not really vary his theme in passing from his *Apology* to his *Dialogue with Trypho*. Either document will show the same arguments and the same proof-texts. The *Apology* was never recited, and some people say that the *Dialogue*, considered as a discourse between real persons, never occurred. We are not disposed to concede this; only we are bearing in mind that *Apology* tends to a literary form, and that Justin's case shows it to be derived from an anti-Judaic matrix, even when the anti-Judaic argument may be flanked by, or even set aside in favour of, a more philosophical presentation. Aristides also is a true philosopher; you can see his Stoic dress the minute he rises to speak; while Justin is a Platonist, and tries to handle the philosophical argument for the Being of God; but the dress fits him awkwardly, and he is not really happy until he pulls out from under his robe the Book of the Prophets of Israel.

These preliminary considerations will help us to understand the position which Timothy is going to take up before the Caliph. He will take part in a philosophical and theological argument, more because the Caliph presses him into it than because he loves it; but he knows that the common ground of their agreement does not lie in the Moslem philosophy, however much they may overlap Christian thought, but in the common use of sacred books as a court of appeal; and he is sensible that his friendly antagonist agrees with him in this and is much nearer to him than any Chief Rabbi of a hundred Sanhedrins could be. Each of the debaters has enlarged his library of references: both accept the Torah; both accept the Gospel (only the Caliph puts in a caveat against possible corruptions either of Torah or Gospel, in a sense that would be unfavourable to Islam); and what is more strange, both accept in some sense the Ḳurān, or at least the

Christian debater is willing to use the Ḳurān in cases where its testimony coincides with that of the Law and the Prophets. The area of reference, extended in this way, and even when qualified by limitations, is a wider area than could be marked out if the Caliph had been, let us say, a Prince of Judaism. In that sense Christian and Moslem are nearer together than either could be in a debate with Judaistic controversialists. Indeed, the reader, who for the first time turns these pages, will say, we did not believe they could be so near together. Moreover it is not merely an artificial approximation, caused on the one hand by the courtesy and grace of a prince, who has the very life of his opponent contingent upon a word that he might say, but is too good a Moslem to say, and on the other hand evoked by the courage of the Patriarch, and the clearness of his utterance. The two are at one in a number of fundamental points, and this underlying unity so well expressed and so generously admitted on both sides, is what gives the document something more than a passing value. As we have said, the Jews are outside the arena of debate ; at least it seems so. It is, however, only seeming. One cannot keep the Jews out of either Christian or Moslem tradition and apologetic.

In this connection I may, perhaps, be allowed to recall something which I wrote some years since in review of a tract which my dear friend, Mrs. Gibson, had written on what she called *The Triune Nature of God.*

The discourse which Mrs. Gibson published was an Arabic treatise which she had transcribed from an early MS. in the Library of the Convent of St. Kathrine on Mount Sinai. It was edited by her[1] under the title "*On the Triune Nature of God*," and was evidently intended as a piece of propaganda, either in the conversion by a Christian writer of his Moslem neighbours, or as an Apology for Christian doctrine in the same quarter. It was a valuable contribution to our history of early Moslem and Christian relations ; for the date, if rightly assigned, is very nearly as early as the text of Timothy upon which we are engaged. I took exception, however, to the title, which I asserted should have been *Contra Muhammedanos,* as it was not limited to an exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity, but covered a wider ground of debate between Moslems and Christians ; and I went

[1] In the seventh volume of *Studia Sinaitica.*

on to point out in the pages of the *American Journal of Theology*[1] that the writer, whom Mrs. Gibson had unearthed, had made use of the very same Scriptural arguments in dealing with Moslems that his predecessors had been in the habit of using against the Jews. In fact he had for the most part transcribed and followed the lost book of *Testimonies against the Jews*, with the slight modification that was made necessary by the change in the persons addressed from Jews to Moslems.

My reason for referring to the matter here lies in the fact that Timothy has done the very same thing. One has only to take up such a book as Cyprian's *Testimonies*, with its proofs that the Jews have fallen from grace, that new worship and a new covenant have been called for, followed by the series of Biblical proofs on the nature of the Messiah, to satisfy ourselves completely that we are sailing on the same stream of Christian thought as Justin and Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Look, for instance, at the following statements of Timothy:

> "O our victorious King, the changes that were to take place in the law given through Moses, God has clearly predicted previously through the prophets whom we have mentioned. God said thus through the prophet Jeremiah, and showed the dissolution of the Law of Moses and the setting up of the Gospel, 'Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant, etc.'"

Here Timothy is following closely the method of Cyprian's first book of *Testimonies*. He goes on to tell the Caliph that

"We have received concerning Christ *numerous and distinct testmonies from the Torah and the prophets.*" "The Jews did not accept Jesus in spite of the fact that the Torah and the prophets were full of *testimonies about Him.*" These he proceeds torepeat, in the same way as Justin and Cyprian repeat them, only adding to the Christian corpus of Testimonies such corroboration as he can extract from the pages of the Ḳurān, of which he has evidently been a careful student. When he is challenged to say whether the title *Servant of God* is not more proper for Christ than the title *Son of God*, he replies:

[1] For January, 1901.

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> "He has indeed been called not only a servant, on account of his service, but a *stone*, the door, the way, and a lamb. He was called a stone, not because He was a stone by nature, but because of the truth of His teaching, etc."

Here we recognise one of the lost titles of Christ, to which a whole section was assigned in the primitive *Book of Testimonies*, but which passed out of currency at an early date, except where the Testimonies of the Prophets conserved it. We do not think that any one will read the Patriarch's biblical arguments carefully without seeing that they are based upon a previous collection of prophecies. These prophecies were collected for use against the Jews to whom the appeal to Law and Prophets was in order ; but it must never be forgotten that the Law and the Prophets are equally a Court of Appeal for the Moslems. The only question that can arise is whether the Law and the Prophets and the Testimonies that they contain have been transmitted to us in an exact and incorrupt text. The challenge as to purity of transmission is made by the Caliph in the usual Moslem form ; we were surprised to find it so early ; the text of both Old and New Testament and the contained Testimonies has been, he says, falsified by the omission of the name of Muḥammad as the Prophet of God. The Patriarch is seen at great advantage in his argument that the concurrence of Jewish and Christian teachers in the text that they use contradicts the possibility of corruption ; they cannot have agreed to falsify texts about Muḥammad of whom the early writers have never heard. Let the uncorrupt copies be produced ; since they cannot all have been destroyed ; and since they cannot be found, it is safe to say that they never existed. There has been no corruption.

Of the general trend of the argument we may say that the debate very nearly resolves into a concession on one side that "I would be persuaded to be a Moslem if it were possible." Could concession go further than the admission that Muḥammad walked in the steps of the prophets, whether we call him the Prophet or not : or the statement that if I had found in the Gospel a prophecy concerning the coming of Muḥammad, I would have left the Gospel for the Ḳurān, as I have left the Torah and the Prophets for the Gospel? All of this is consistent with "sweet reasonableness." The defect of the Ḳurān is the lack of evidence for the Ḳurān, in Timothy's judgment. He makes no concession that is not consistent with orthodox Christian

belief ; on the other hand, when he moves outside religion into statecraft, and calls those who oppose in the West the new militarism of the East by the name of "murderers" deserving "fire and hell," he goes further than either a serious Christian or a sober-minded Moslem could follow him.[1] Was it a crime to defend Constantinople against Bagdad, and would it be no crime but the highest virtue to defend Bagdad against Byzantium ? "Murderers" was a two-edged epithet ; either side could use it ; neither side should do so.

Setting aside these instances of extreme political concession and inconsistency, which at least may add to our constant wonder how such tractable and submissive people as the Patriarch represents could ever be chosen as subjects for massacre and extermination, we turn with admiration to the dignity and the courteousness of the Caliph's attitude in debate. If he is pressed into a position in which he has nothing to reply, or where nothing further can be said with advantage, he introduces a new subject, or repeats a former statement. Sometimes, as when the Patriarch, having used up material illustrations of the Doctrine of the Trinity, such as the favourite one (there is no better) of the Sun and its Light and its Heat, makes a noble confession that all such similitudes are insufficient for the exposition of the Nature of God, the Caliph observes (with a twinkle in his eye) that "You will not go very far with God in your bodily comparisons and similitudes." Which, indeed, the Patriach had admitted in advance, and was ready to concede and repeat, only with the explanation that the creature, discoursing on the nature of the Creator, must necessarily use the materials for discourse that Creation supplies. So they continue their two-days' discourse, agreeing where they can, as on the Virgin Birth of Jesus and the sinlessness of His character (which the Caliph holds it is blasphemy to deny), and differing where they must, as on the Unity or Trinity of God, and on the question whether either God or Christ really died on the Cross.

In the end the Patriarch comes back to the use of similitudes, this time to one that is not transcendental in its interpretation, the Parable, as we may call it, of the Lost Pearl, in a darkened house, on a fog-ridden day. Jesus Himself had played with the Quest for such a Pearl in the Gospel ; but this time the Pearl is not overseas ; it has

[1] Was he perhaps affected by the fanaticism of certain persecuting Byzantine Emperors ?

been dropped on the floor of the house; many are searching for it, many think they have found it, one grasping a stone, another a bit of glass or the like, while one only holds the recovered jewel. Who shall say in whose hands the treasure lies? The day shall declare it. When the fog lifts we shall know. We have it, says the Caliph, with a Eureka of his own which has the very ring of reality. Amen, says the Patriarch, may we all be found in possession of it, when the Day of Judgment, of illuminated and undeceived Judgment arrives. The Patriarch, however, was too good a Christian to allow it to be thought that all faiths, including the one which he represented, stood an equal chance till the Last Day. He alters his similitude of the Pearl to prevent misapprehension of the Divine Revelation, as a figure of which the Pearl has been introduced. The Pearl which everyone is groping after in the darkened room and in the fog-laden atmosphere has a luminosity of its own. One can find it in the dark, without waiting for the 'awful rose of Dawn' at the end of the world, in which both Moslem and Christian believe. He indicates some of the ways in which this soft radiance of the Truth discloses itself; for God does not leave Himself without witness; there are in all times signs and wonders, words and works of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. And so the assembly dissolves, the two noble champions withdraw from the arena, the Patriarch first praying for his Majesty and his heirs a kingdom that shall not be moved.

RENDEL HARRIS.

PREFACE, EDITION AND TRANSLATION.

By A. MINGANA.

Prefatory Note.

I GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation—accompanied by a critical apparatus—of an official Apology of Christianity. The writer of the Apology is the celebrated Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I. (A.D. 780-823), and the man to whom it was delivered by word of mouth is no less than Mahdi, the third 'Abbassid Caliph (A.D. 775-785). There is reason to believe that it was delivered in this way towards the end of A.D. 781 or at the latest 782. See below, p. 84. The Apology is mentioned by 'Abdīsho' of Nisibin in his Catalogue under the title "Discussion with Mahdi." Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, iii. 162.

The Apology is in the form of a private theological discussion between Timothy and Mahdi. It is not necessary to suppose that every word in it was uttered *verbatim*, but there are strong reasons for believing that it contains as faithful an analysis as could possibly be made under the circumstances of the questions and answers of the Caliph and the Patriarch. We may also state with some confidence that the Patriarch's intention having mainly been to show to his correspondent and co-religionists in general the nature and the extent of his answers to the Caliph's questions, he may have neglected to record all the words of the latter and contented himself with mentioning only the gist of his objections. This colloquy was naturally conducted in Arabic, but we have it now before us in the Syriac style of one of the most illustrious ecclesiastical dignitaries that have ever honoured a high Patriarchal See of any Church either Eastern or Western.[1]

It is naturally somewhat difficult to ascertain the duration of the time that must have elapsed between the two days of the oral discussion of the two friendly antagonists, and the days in which that oral discussion was first written down in its present form by the Christian protagonist.

[1] On his remarkable zeal in the spread of Christianity in Central Asia see my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, pp. 12-17, 30, 74-76. See also my *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, 1926, pp. 34 and 64.

From the nature of some phrases used in the text I am inclined to believe that that time could not have been very considerable, and I consider that A.D. 783 constitutes the lowest limit to which we might ascribe it with safety, since the author uses in this connection the words "before these days" (p. 16).

I have in my footnotes compared Timothy's Apology under Mahdi in the eighth century with two other Apologies of the ninth century: that of 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindi, and that of 'Ali b. Rabban aṭ-Ṭabari. Kindi's Apology—to which I refer by the word *Risālah*—is in favour of Christianity and was written under the Caliph Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833),[1] and that of Ibn Rabban is entitled *Kitāb ad-Dīn wad-Daulah*, is in favour of Islam, and was written under the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861).[2]

I may here note that I believe that Kindi's Apology mentioned by the Muslim Bīrūni[3] and the Christian Nestorian 'Abdīsho' of Nisibin[4] is a genuine and authentic work. His adversary, who Bīrūni tells us was 'Abdallah b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimi, informs us[5] that he had frequent discussions with the Patriarch Timothy, the author of the present Apology. The Apology itself makes mention of contemporary events that took place in the time of the author, such as the insurrection of Atābag al-Khurrami,[6] and counts two hundred years from the time in which the Prophet lived down to the time in which it was written.[7] Kindi himself being decidedly a Nestorian could not possibly be confused wtth any other author of a hostile community from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the tenth century, such as the Jacobite Yaḥya b. 'Adi who died in A.D. 974. Kindi[8] quotes the Nestorian hymn, "Blessed be the one who created the light,"[9] explains the "sleep" of Lazarus through the Nestorian exegesis,[10] and clearly shows in many passages his adhesion to the Nestorian Christological belief in the mystery of the Incarnation.[11] No Jacobite author could possibly have done this.

Further, no other *milieu* was so favourable for the writing of a

[1] I use in my references the Arabic text published in Cairo in 1912 by the Nile Mission Press.

[2] My references are to my own edition and translation of the work in 1922-1923.

[3] *Āthār*, p. 205 (edit. Sachau).

[4] Catalogue in Assemani *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 213.

[5] *Risālah*, p. 8. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 53. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 65. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[9] In Bedjan's *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, i, ii, and iii, p. 47.

[10] *Risālah*, p. 63. [11] See *ibid.*, pp. 124-125, etc.

book of such an aggressive tone as that created by the Caliph Ma'mūn,[1] and no author could have spoken in such a way of himself, of his adversary and of Islam in general except a man of a true and noble Arabian extraction as Kindi, on his own showing,[2] was.

As to the distinction between *ṣifat dhāt* and *ṣifat fi'l* they are adaptations to Arabic and Islamic philosophy of the previously known Syriac terms of *dilaita dakhyāna* and *dilaita de-sā'ōrūtha*. Even the present Apology of Timothy alludes to this distinction. I cannot, therefore, see why a Christian Arab author writing about A.D. 820 should not have made use of this philosophical notion which was at home in Christian circles of his time, and in my judgment the argument taken from the use of these two terms in favour of a later date for the Christian Apology[3] is scientifically unwarranted by the Nestorian philosophical studies of the time.

It has also been urged that another detail might suggest that the Christian Apology was not composed by Kindi but by an author of the tenth century, and that is the allusion that it makes to the fact that the name of Muḥammad is believed by the Muslims to be incribed on the base of the throne of God.[4] It has been said[5] that since Ṭabari who died in A.D. 923 refuted an opinion similar to this held by the Ḥanbali Barbahāri, the Apology could not be ascribed to about A.D. 820. But is it not probable that such a belief was held also by some Muslims in A.D. 820? What proof have we that it was the Ḥanbali Barbahāri who was the first man to hold and enunciate such a belief? After a careful study of the subject I have come to—in my judgment—the only probable conclusion: that from internal and external evidence Kindi's Apology for Christianity is genuine and authentic in spite of some variants exhibited by the different Arabic and Garshūni MSS. that contain it. The contrary opinion is, I believe, a mistake which should be at once corrected.

To return to our present Apology: I may state with some confidence that the Patriarch Timothy was well acquainted with the contents of the Ḳur'ān, but his knowledge does not seem to have been acquired at first-hand; it was rather derived from some Christians of his own community. It is also very doubtful whether he was aware of the existence of a Syriac translation of the Islamic Book. The

[1] *Risālah*, p. 134.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 98 and 135.
[3] *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 1021.
[4] In *Risālah*, pp. 55-56.
[5] *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 1021.

phrase "I heard" and the Ḳur'ānic Arabic words that he uses in this connection suggest that he was dependent upon an Arabic and not a Syriac text of the Ḳur'ān.

The most important verses of the Ḳur'ān which he quotes in a Syriac translation are iii. 48; iv. 156; iv. 159; iv. 170; xix. 17; xix. 34; xxi. 91; and xc. 1-3. He is also aware of the existence of the mysterious letters found at the beginning of some Sūrahs. The usefulness of these quotations for the criticism of the text of the Ḳur'ān is emphasised in my foot-notes, but it will not be here out of place to put side by side the Syriac text of the Ḳur'ān as quoted by Barṣalībi —a text which I edited and translated in 1925[1]—and by Timothy. If both texts are identical there would be strong reasons for believing that the Jacobite Barṣalībi and the Nestorian Timothy were quoting from a text lying before them. On the whole, however, the balance is in favour of the opinion that Timothy's text is not Barṣalībi's text.

Barṣalībi.	*Timothy.*
ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ . ܗܕܐ .	ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ . ܗܕܐ . iv, 156.
ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ . ܗܕܐ .	ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ . xix, 34.
ܐܢ ܐܠ ܐܬܚܕ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܘܐܬܚܕ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܐܠ

The only old MS. that contains the present Apology is the one preserved in the Monastery of our Lady, near Alḳosh,[1] which may be ascribed to about the thirteenth Christian century. From it are transcribed Seert 65,[2] Vatican 81,[3] Mardin 50,[4] and Mingana 17. Apart frem Seert 65 which might have been ascribed to the eighteenth century all the other MSS. were copied in the nineteenth century, and if we have a faithful copy of the MS. of the Monastery of our Lady we have practically all the other MSS.

For my present edition I give all Mingana 17 in facsimile. It was transcribed some thirty years ago by the very able copyist, the priest Abraham Shikwāna of Alḳosh, from the above MS. of the Monastery of our Lady, and in my last journey to the East (in 1925) I collated it myself with the original MS. The reader has therefore every reason to rely on the accuracy of the text of the Apology. In some passages my translation slightly deviates from the text for the sake of clearness. The editorial plural is sometimes maintained.

In an article in the *J.R.A.S.* (1920, p. 481) on Ibn Rabban's Apology for Islam I drew attention to the fact that religious controversies between Muslims and Christians had not undergone any appreciable change since the 9th century ; the same remark holds good with regard to Timothy's and Kindi's Apologies for Christianity.

Translation.

With the assistance of God we will write the debate held by the Patriarch Mar Timothy before Mahdi, the Commander of the Faithful, by way of question and answer, on the subject of the Christian religion.

On the one hand I feel repugnance to write to your Lordship,[5] and on the other I am anxious to do so. *I feel repugnance*, on account

[1] No. 90 (7°) in A. Scher's catalogue in *J.A.*, 1906, p. 57. The reference to No. 96 in Baumstark's *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.*, p. 217, is a misprint.

[2] In Scher's catalogue. In my last journey to the East in 1925 I was informed on the spot that this MS. was among those which had been destroyed by Kurds in the world war of 1914-1918.

[3] In *J.A.*, 1909, p. 263 and in *Zeit. f. Assyr.*, ix., p. 363.

[4] In *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1908, p. 80. No special mention, however, is made of the Apology in the Catalogue.

[5] The correspondent of the Patriarch. He was possibly either Sergius priest, monk and teacher of the monastery of Mar Abraham, or Sergius, Metropolitan of Elam.

of the futility of the outcome of the work. It is true that I could not have acquired a mature experience of such a futility from the single discussion herein mentioned, but I may state that I have acquired such an experience from discussions that took place before the one involved in the present lucubration.[1] *I am anxious*, in order to confirm and corroborate a traditional habit, inasmuch as the habit of friendly correspondence has acquired the right of prescription from very early times, and has thereby received an additional title to existence ; as a matter of fact it is born and grows in us from our childhood, nay even babyhood, and it is very difficult to shake a habit of such a duration. For the reason, however, stated at the beginning I sometimes infringe this law, especially when I am reminded by a wise man who says that it is useless to draw upon that which is difficult to inherit. This is also due to the fact that the subject is to me difficult and is even against my nature, but we know that habit conquers inclination, as a powerful thought conquers a weak one.

We often see that a strong and well rooted branch goes spontaneously back to its former and congenial state after it has been violently twisted, and we do find that when powerful torrents are diverted from their natural channels with violence, they return immediately to their natural and customary course, without the need of any violence. This happens to me in relation to your great wisdom ; to put a stop to our correspondence we must needs make use of violence, but after the cessation of this violence, we go back to our natural state, while love conquers all between us and covers the weaknesses of the flesh which are full of shame and confusion, and also many other human proclivities which are known to the mind, but which the speech conceals and hides under the veil of silence. Such weaknesses are well known to your great wisdom, as if you were their father and originator, and are also known to all the members of the Orthodox Church. Love covers and hides all these weaknesses as the water covers and hides the rocks that are under it. But let us now embark on our main subject in the way sanctioned by our old habit and ancient custom.

Let it be known to your wisdom, O God-loving Lord, that before these days I had an audience of our victorious King, and according to usage I praised God and his Majesty. When, in the limited space

[1] These sentences amplify a little the original.

allowed to me, I had finished the words of my complimentary address, in which I spake of the nature of God and His Eternity, he did something to me, which he had never done before; he said to me: "O Catholicos, a man like you who possesses all this knowledge and utters such sublime words concerning God, is not justified in saying about God that He married a woman from whom He begat a son."[1] —And I replied to his Majesty: "And who is, O God-loving King, who has ever uttered such a blasphemy concerning God?"—And our victorious King said to me: "What then do you say that Christ is?" —And I replied to his Majesty: "O King, Christ is the Word-God, who appeared in the flesh for the salvation of the world."—And our victorious King questioned me: "Do you not say that Christ is the Son of God?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "O King, Christ is the Son of God, and I confess Him and worship Him as such. This I learned from Christ Himself in the Gospel and from the Books of the Torah and of the Prophets, which know Him and call Him by the name of "Son of God" but not a son in the flesh as children are born in the carnal way, but an admirable and wonderful Son,[2] more sublime and higher than mind and words, as it fits a divine Son to be."

Our King asked then: "How?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "O our King, that He is a Son and one that is born, we learn it and believe in it, but we dare not investigate how He was born before the times, and we are not able to understand the fact at all, as God is incomprehensible and inexplicable in all things; but we may say in an imperfect simile that as light is born of the sun and word of the soul, so also Christ who is Word, is born of God, high above the times and before all the worlds."—And our King said to me: "Do you not say that He was born of the Virgin Mary?"—And I said to his Majesty: "We say it and confess it. The very same Christ is the Word born of the Father, and a man born of Mary. From the fact that He is Word-God, He is born of the Father before the times, as light from the sun and word from the soul; and from the fact that He is man He is born of the Virgin Mary, in time; from the Father He is, therefore, born eternally, and from the Mother He is born in time, without

[1] The Christian apologist Kindi refutes an objection of his adversary, 'Abdallah b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimi, which was in almost identical terms: "We never say about the Most High God that He married a woman from whom He begat a son," *Risālah*, p. 37.

[2] *Cf.* Is. ix. 6.

a Father, without any marital contact, and without any break in the seals of the virginity of His Mother."

Then our God-loving King said to me: "That He was born of Mary without marital intercourse is found in the Book,[1] and is well known, but is it possible that He was born without breaking the seals of the virginity of His mother?"—And I replied to him: "O King, if we consider both facts in the light of natural law, they are impossible, because it is impossible that a man should be born without breaking the seals of his mother's virginity, and is equally impossible that He should be conceived without a man's intercourse. But if we consider not nature but God, the Lord of nature, as the Virgin was able to conceive without marital relations, so was she able to be delivered of her child without any break in her virginal seals. There is nothing impossible with God,[2] who can do everything."—Then the King said: "That a man can be born withour marital intercourse is borne out by the example of Adam, who was fashioned by God from earth without any marital intercourse, but that a man can be born without breaking his mother's virginal seals we have no proof, either from Book nor from nature."

And I replied to his Majesty in the following manner: "That He was born without breaking the virginal seals of His mother we have evidence from Book and nature. From Book there is the example of Eve who was born from the side of Adam without having rent it or fractured it, and the example of Jesus Christ who ascended to Heaven without having torn and breached the firmament. In this way He was born of Mary without having broken her virginal seals or fractured them. This can also be illustrated from nature: all fruits are born of trees without breaking or tearing them, and sight is born of the eye while the latter is not broken or torn, and the perfume of apples and all aromatic substances is born of their respective trees or plants without breaking and tearing them, and the rays are born of the sun without tearing or breaking its spheric form. As all these are born of their generators without tearing them or rending them, so also Christ was born of Mary without breaking her virginal seals; as His eternal birth from the Father is wonderful, so also is His temporal birth from Mary."

[1] Ḳur'ān, iii. 41; xxi. 91. [2] Luke i. 37. Ḳur'ān iii. 41, etc.

And our King said to me: "How was that Eternal One born in time?"—And I answered: "It is not in His eternity that He was born of Mary, O our King, but in His temporalness and humanity."—And our King said to me: "There are, therefore, two distinct beings: if one is eternal and God from God as you said, and the other temporal, the latter is therefore a pure man from Mary."—And I retorted: "Christ is not two beings, O King, nor two Sons, but Son and Christ are one; there are in Him two natures, one of which belongs to the Word and the other one which is from Mary, clothed itself[1] with the Word-God."—And the King said: "They are, therefore, two, one of whom created and fashioned, and the other uncreated and unfashioned."—And I said to him: "We do not deny the duality of natures, O King, nor their mutual relations, but we profess that both of them constitute one Christ and Son."

And the King retorted: "If He is one He is not two; and if He is two, He is not one."—And I replied to him: "A man is one, while in reality he is two: one in his composition and individuality, and two in the distinction found between his soul and his body; the former is invisible and spiritual, and the latter visible and corporeal. Our King, together with the insignia of his Kingdom is also one King and not two, however great may be the difference that separates him from his dresses. In the same way the Word of God, together with the clothings of humanity which He put on from Mary, is one and the same Christ, and not two, although there is in Him the natural difference between the Word-God and His humanity; and the fact that He is *one* does not preclude the fact that He is also *two*. The very same Christ and Son is indeed known and confessed as *one*, and the fact that He is also *two* does not imply confusion or mixture, because the known attributes of His natures are kept in one person[2] of the Son and Christ."

And our King retorted to me: "Even in this you cannot save yourself from duality in Christ."—And I demonstrated the fact to him through another illustration and said: "The tongue and the word are

[1] Note the semi-Nestorian expression of "putting on, clothing oneself with" as applied to the union of God with man in the Incarnation. In the following pages we shall not attempt to render this expression into English at every time.

[2] *Parṣōpa* = πρόσωπον.

one with the voice in which they are clothed, in a way that the two are not two words nor two tongues, but one word, together with the tongue and the voice, so that they are called by all one tongue with the word and the voice, and in them *one* does not expel *two*. This is also the case with the Word-God; He is one with His humanity, while preserving the distinction between His invisibility and His visibility, and between His Divinity and His humanity. Christ is *one* in His son-ship, and *two* in the attributes of His natures."

And our King said to me: "Did not Jesus Christ say, I am going to My God and to your God?"[1]—And I said: "It is true that this sentence has been said by our Saviour, but there is another sentence which precedes it and which is worthy of mention."—And the King asked: "Which is it?"—And I said: "Our Lord said to His Disciples 'I am going to My Father and to your Father, and to My God and your God.'"—And our King said: "How can this be? If He says that He is His Father, He is not His God, and if He is His God, He is not His Father; what is this contradiction?"[2]—And I replied to him: "There is no contradiction here, O God-loving King. The fact that He is His Father by nature does not carry with it that He is also His God by nature, and the fact that He is His God by nature does not imply that He is His Father by nature. He is, however, from His Father by the nature of the Word, born of Him from eternity, as light from the sun and word from the soul; and God is His God by the nature of the humanity of the Word born of Mary. Man is living and rational only by the nature of his soul, which has indeed received from God a living and rational nature, but he is said to be living and rational in his body also, through its association with this living and rational soul. In reality what he is by nature when his body and soul are separated, is not what he is in its composite state when his body and soul are united. In spite of all this however, he is called *one* living and rational man and not *two*. In the same way God is called, and is, the Christ's *Father* by the nature of the union of Word-God with our human nature, and on the other hand He is called His *God* by the nature of His humanity that He took from us in union with the Word-God.

"In this way He is then *one* Son and Christ, and not two. He

[1] John xx. 17. [2] The Arabic *muḥāl*.

was not born of Mary in the same way as He was born of God, nor was He born of God in the same way as He was born of Mary. So the Son and the Christ are really one, in spite of His births being two, and the same Christ has God as Father by nature, and as God: Father by the fact that He is Word-God, and God by the fact of His birth from Mary."

Our King showed here marks of doubt as to the possibility of all the above explanations, and I removed his doubt through another illustration, and said: "The letter of the Commander of the Faithful is one, both in the words that are written in it and in the papyrus on which the words are written, and our King, the King of Kings, is called both the father and the owner of his letter. He is called its father through the words born of his soul, which have been impressed on the papyrus, and he is called its owner through his being the owner of the papyrus on which the words have been written. Neither the papyrus, however, is, by nature, from the soul of the King, nor the words are by nature from the papyrus-reed, but the words are by nature born of the soul of the King, and the papyrus is by nature made of the papyrus-reed, *i.e.*, from πάπυρος.[1] In this same way Christ is one, both in His being Word-God and in His humanity taken from us, but the very same God of Christ is both His Father and His God: His Father, from the fact that He was born before the times of the Father, and His God from the fact that He was born in time of Mary. By nature, however, He is not a man from the Father, nor is the Word by nature from Mary, but He is the very same Christ both from the Father and from Mary, in the first case as God, and in the second case as man."

Then our God-loving King said to me: "How can the spirit who has no genital organs beget?"—And I replied to him: "O God-loving King, how can the spirit then do things and create without possessing organs of creation. As He created the worlds without instruments of creation, so He was born without the medium of the genital organs. If He could not be born without the intermediary of the genital organs, He could not by inference have created without the

[1] There is no doubt therefore that the official letters and documents of the early Abbasids were written on papyrus and not on parchment. The Arabic word *Kirṭās* seems by inference to indicate papyrus in the majority of cases, if not always.

intermediary of the instruments of creation. If He created without any instruments of creation, He was, therefore, born without the genital organs. Lo, the sun also begets the rays of light without any genital organs. God is therefore able to beget and create, although He is a simple and not a composite spirit; and without any genital organs and instruments of creation He begets the Son and makes the Spirit proceed from the essence of His person as the sun does for the light and the heat."

And our King said to me: "Do you believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit?"—And I answered: "I worship them and believe in them."—Then our King said: "You, therefore, believe in three Gods?"—And I replied to our King: "The belief in the above three names, consists in the belief in three Persons, and the belief in these three Persons consists in the belief in one God. The belief in the above three names, consists therefore in the belief in one God. We believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit as one God. So Jesus Christ taught us, and so we have learnt from the revelation of the books of the prophets. As our God-loving King is one King with his word and his spirit, and not three Kings, and as no one is able to distinguish him, his word and his spirit from himself and no one calls him King independently of his word and his spirit, so also God is one God with His Word and His Spirit, and not three Gods, because the Word and the Spirit of God are inseparable from Him. And as the sun with its light and its heat is not called three suns but one sun, so also God with His Word and His Spirit is not three Gods but is and is called one God."

Then the King said to me: "What is my word? It is something that vanishes and disappears."—And I replied to him: "As God does not resemble in His nature the Commander of the Faithful, so also the Word and the Spirit of God do not resemble those of the Commander of the Faithful. We men sometimes exist and sometimes do not exist because we have a beginning and an end, as we are created. This is the case also with our word and our spirit, which at one time exist, and at another cease to exist, and have a beginning and an end. God, however, who is higher and more exalted than all is not like us in this respect, but He exists divinely and eternally, and there was no time in which He was not, nor will there be a time in which He will not be. He has no beginning and no end, because He is not created.

In the same way are His Word and His Spirit, who exist divinely and eternally, that is to say without beginning and without end, as God with God, without any separation."

Then our King said to me: "Are the Word and the Spirit not separable from God?"—And I replied: "No: never. As light and heat are not separable from the sun, so also (the Word) and the Spirit of God are not separable from Him. If one separates from the sun its light and its heat, it will immediately become neither light-giver nor heat-producer, and consequently it will cease to be sun, so also if one separates from God His Word and His Spirit, He will cease to be a rational and living God, because the one who has no reason is called irrational,[1] and the one who has no spirit[2] is dead. If one, therefore, ventures to say about God that there was a time in which He had no Word and no Spirit, such a one would blaspheme against God, because his saying would be equivalent to asserting that there was a time in which God had no reason and no life. If such adjectives are considered as blasphemy and abomination when said of God, it follows that God begat the Word in a divine and eternal way, as a source of wisdom, and had the Spirit proceeding from Him eternally and without any beginning, as a source of life. God is indeed the eternal source of life and wisdom; as a source of wisdom He imparts by His Word wisdom to all the rational beings, and as a source of life He causes life to flow to all the living beings, celestial and terrestrial alike, because God is the creator of everything by means of His Word and His Spirit."

And our powerful King said to me: "Tell me from which books you can show me that the Word and the Spirit are eternally with God."—And I replied: "We can demonstrate this first from the Books of the Prophets, and afterwards from the Gospel. As to the prophets, David said first thus: 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all His hosts by the Spirit of His mouth.'[3] In another passage he glorifies the Word of God as if it were God, in the following terms: 'I shall glorify the Word of God.'[4] Further, in speaking of the resurrection of the dead he said of God, 'Thou sendest

[1] In Syr. the same root *milltha* is used to express both "reason" and "word." The author plays on this identical root in a constant manner.

[2] In Syr. "Spirit" which means also "soul."

[3] Ps. xxxiii. 6 (Peshitta). [4] Ps. lvi. 10 (Peshitta).

forth Thy Spirit and they are created, and Thou renewest the face of the earth.'[1] The prophet David would not have glorified a created being, nor would he have called creator and renewer some one who was created and fashioned. In another passage he speaks of the Word of God as itself God, without a beginning and without an end, because he writes :[2] 'Thou art for ever, O Lord, and Thy Word standeth in Heaven ;' he teaches here that as God is for ever in heaven, so also the Word of God is in heaven for ever and without an end, because he who is without an end is also without a beginning, and he who has no beginning has no end.

"Afterwards comes the prophet Isaiah who speaks of the Word of God in a way similar to that of David, in saying thus : 'The grass withereth and the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God standeth for ever.'[3] Other prophets also speak of this point in several passages. So far as the Gospel is concerned we gather the same conclusion from the following passage : 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.'[4] We are taught here two things : that the Word is eternal, and that the same Word is God by nature. All these the Gospel teaches about the Word, and it teaches us also the same thing concerning the Spirit in the very same chapter, 'In Him was life,'[5] *i.e.*, in the same Word—God was 'life' which means "(in Him) was Spirit" or "He was it." In saying of the Word in the first passage that He "was," does not refer to any beginning, and so is the case with regard to the second passage referring to the Spirit. Indeed the Gospel in using this "was" is not speaking of His creation but of His eternity. If Spirit is life and life is eternally in God, the Spirit is consequently eternally in God. And Jesus Christ (Holy Ghost ?) is the Spirit of God, and the life and light of men.

"In one passage Christ said to His Father, 'And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own Self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.'[6] He said here, 'with the glory which He *had* before the world was, and not which *came* to Him ;' if He had said, 'With the glory which *had come to me* with Thee before the world was,' He would have taught us that He was a created and made being, but since He said 'with the glory which *I had* with Thee before the world was' He clearly taught us that while

[1] Ps. civ. 30. [2] Ps. cxix. 89 (Peshitta). [3] Is. xl. 8.
[4] John i. 1. [5] John i. 4. [6] John xvii. 5.

all the world was created He alone was without a beginning, as the Word of God.

"In another passage while He was about to ascend to Heaven He said to His disciples, 'Go and teach all nations and baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'[1] Jesus Christ would not have allowed Himself to count created and made beings with the One who is uncreated and unmade, and temporal beings with the One who has no beginning and no end. As the wise men do not mix promiscuously with one another in one count sun, stone and horse, nor pearl, gold and brass, but say, for instance, in a separate way: three pearls, or three stars, as these are similar in nature and resemble one another in everything, so also would the case be with Jesus Christ, who would have never allowed himself to count with God His Word and His Spirit, if He did not know that they were equal to God in nature. How could He have made equal in honour and royal power the one who was not God in nature with the one who was, or the one who was temporal with the one who was eternal? It is not the servants who participate in royal honour but the children"[2]

Then our King said to me: "What is the difference between the Son and the Spirit, and how is it that the Son is not the Spirit nor the Spirit the Son? Since you said that God is not composite there should not be any difference with God in the fact that He begets and makes proceed from Himself."—And I replied to our King as follows: "There is no difference, O King, between the persons in their relation to one another, except that the first is not begotten, and the second is begotten, and the third proceeds; and God consists in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and He begat the former and made the latter proceed from Him from eternity without any bodily cleavage and separation in the organs and places that are fit for generation and procession. God is not composite and has no body, and since the terms 'cleavage' and 'organs' imply a body—because all bodies are composite—it follows that 'cleavage' and 'organs' do not apply to God; indeed God being without body and not being composite, is thought of without any notion of 'cleavage' and 'separation.'

[1] Matt. xxviii. 19.

[2] Most of the above Biblical passages are quoted also by the Christian apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, pp. 43, 147-148.

Reason comes out of the soul—because mind comes out of the soul—but it comes out of it without any suffering, without any cleavage, and without the instrumentality of organs. The very same sun begets light and makes heat come out of it, without any cleavage or bodily separation, and in a way that all the light is from all the sun and all the heat from all its spheric globe.

"All the reason and all the mind are from all the soul, the former by process of birth and the second by that of procession, as all the heat and all the mind are with the sun and with the soul respectively, and all the heat and all the reason are with the soul, with the sun, and with ourselves, while light does not become heat nor heat light. This very method applies to the Word and the Spirit: the former is begotten, and the latter proceeds from God and the Father, not through any material cleavage, and any suffering, nor from a special organ, but as from an uncircumscribed being: an uncircumscribed one in an uncircumscribed fashion, and one who is all in all without space and time, in a way that the Son is not the Spirit, nor the Spirit the Son, in qualifications and attributes.

"From the whole of an apple the whole of the scent and the whole of the taste are begotten and proceed in a way that the apple does not make the scent proceed from one part of it and beget the taste from another, but scent and taste come out of all the apple. While scent and taste are mixed with each other and with the apple, they are nevertheless separate in a way that taste is not scent and scent is not taste, and are not confused with each other, nor separated from each other, but are so to speak mixed together in a separate way, and separated from each other in a mixed way, by a process that is as amazing as it is incomprehensible. In this very way from the uncircumscribed Father the Son is begotten and the Spirit proceeds, in an uncircumscribed way: the eternal from the eternal, the uncreated from the uncreated, the spiritual from the spiritual. Since they are uncircumscribed they are not separated from one another, and since they are not bodies they are not mixed and confused with one another, but are separated in their persons in a united way, so to speak, and are united in their nature in a separate way. God is, therefore, one in nature with three personal attributes."

And our King said to me: "If they are not separated by remoteness and nearness as they are uncircumscribed, the Father therefore,

and the Spirit clothed also themselves with the human body, together with the Son; if the Father and the Spirit did not put on human body with the Son, how is it that they are not separated by distance and space?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "As the word of the King clothes itself with the papyrus on which it is written, while his soul and his mind cannot be said to do the same, and as his soul and his mind while not separated from his word, cannot nevertheless be said that they clothe themselves with the papyrus, so also is the case with the Word of God; because although He put on our human body without having been separated from the Father and the Spirit, yet the Father and the Spirit cannot be said to have put on our human body.

"Further, the word that is begotten of the soul clothes itself with the voice that is caused by the vibration of the air, and yet it is not separated from the soul and the mind, and the soul and the mind are not said that they clothe themselves with the voice, and no man ever says that he heard the mind and the soul of so-and-so, but he does say that he heard the word of so-and-so, and this in spite of the fact that the word is not remote from the mind, nor the mind from the soul, and are not separated from one another. In this very way the Word-God clothed Himself with a body from ourselves, without having been separated in the least from the Father and the Spirit, and in this way also the Father and the Spirit are not said to have put on human body with the Word.

"Finally, the body is believed to be and actually is the temple and the clothing of the soul, but it is not believed and actually is not the temple and the clothing of the word and of the mind, in spite of the fact that neither the word nor the mind are remote from the soul, nor is the soul itself remote from the word and the mind. In this way the Word alone is spoken of as having put on our human body, while the Father and the Spirit are not said to have put it on, in spite of the fact that they are not remote from the Word in distance and locality." The objections and the difficulties raised by our Sovereign have been rebutted and explained in the above way.

After these the King said to me: "Who is your head and your leader?"—And I replied: "Our Lord Jesus Christ."—And our King asked me: "Was Jesus Christ circumcised or not?"—And I answered: "He was."—And our King asked me: "Why do you

not then circumcise yourself? If your head aud leader is Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ was circumcised, you should also by necessity circumcise yourself."—And I spoke thus: "O King, Jesus Christ was both circumcised and baptised. He was circumcised eight days after His birth according to the injunction of the Law, and He was baptised while He was about thirty years of age, and by His baptism He annulled circumcision. I do not follow the Law as the Christ followed all the Law;[1] I follow the Gospel, and that is why I do not circumcise myself in spite of the fact that Christ circumcised Himself, but I baptise myself with water and spirit like Him. I believe in Jesus Christ, and since Jesus Christ was baptised I consider baptism as an urgent necessity for me.[2] I leave the image and cleave to the reality."

And our King asked me: "How did Jesus Christ abolish circumcision and what is the meaning of the 'image' you have spoken of?"—And I replied: "All the Torah, was, O King, the image of the Gospel. The sacrifices that are in the Law are the image of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and the priesthood and high-priesthood of the Law are the image of the high-priesthood of Christ, and the carnal circumcision is the image of His spiritual circumcision. As He abolished the Law by the Gospel, and the sacrifices by His sacrifice, and the priesthood of the Law by His priesthood, so also He abolished and annulled the carnal circumcision which is performed by the work of the hands of men by means of His circumcision which is not performed by the work of the hands of men but by the power of the Spirit, and it is the sacrament[3] of the Kingdom of Heaven and of the resurrection from death."

And our King said: "If Christ abolished the Law and all its requirements, He is, therefore, its enemy and its adversary. We call enemies those who destroy and contradict one another."—And I replied to him: "The light of the stars is abolished by the light of the sun, and the light of the latter is not for that the enemy of that of

[1] Cf. Matt. v. 17.

[2] This objection about the circumcision of Christ and the uncircumcision of Christians is also mentioned and refuted by the Christian apologist Kindi, *Risālah*, p. 109. It is likewise alluded to by the Muslim apologist 'Ali Tabari, *Kitāb ud-Din*, pp. 159-160 of my translation.

[3] The same Syriac word means both "mystery" and "sacrament."

the former ; the functions of childhood are also abolished by those of manhood, and man is not for that the enemy of himself ; an earthly kingdom is also abolished by the heavenly Kingdom, and the Kingdom of God is not for that the enemy of men. In this very way Jesus Christ abolished and destroyed the Law by the Gospel, while He is not for that the enemy and the adversary of the Law."

And our King said to me : "Where did Jesus Christ worship and pray in the years that elapsed between His birth and His ascension to Heaven ? Was it not in the house of holiness[1] and in Jerusalem ?"—And I replied : "Yes."—And our King asked : "Why then do you worship God and pray in the direction of the East ?"—And I replied : "The true worship of the Omnipotent God, O King, will be performed by mankind in the Kingdom of Heaven, and the image of the Kingdom of Heaven in the earth is the paradise of Eden ; now as the paradise of Eden is in the east, we therefore worship God and pray rightly in the direction of the east in which is the Paradise which is the image of the Kingdom of Heaven. There is also another reason for our conduct : Jesus Christ walked in the flesh thirty-three years on the earth, O King. In the thirtieth year he repaid to God all the debt that the human kind and angels owed to Him. It was a debt that no man and no angel was able to pay, because there has never been a created being that was free from sin, except the Man with whom God clothed Himself and became one with Him in a wonderful unity.[2]

"After having then paid to God the debt of all the creatures and abrogated, annulled, and torn the contract containing it, He went to the Jordan, to John the Baptist, and was baptised by him, and thus the One who was the image of the Kingdom of Heaven placed this baptism of His in the forefront of the Christian life. From the day of His baptism to that of His ascension to heaven there are three years, and it is in these three years that He has taught us all the economy of the Christian religion : baptism, laws, ordinances, prayers, worship in the direction of the east, and the sacrifice that we offer. All these things He practised in His person and taught us to practise ourselves. Because He wished to proclaim to the world through His disciples : the Gospel, the baptism, the sacrifice and the worship

[1] I.e. Temple. Syr. *baita d-maḳdsha* from which the Arab. *bait al-maḳdis.*

[2] This teaching is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

and prayer to God, He performed and fulfilled them all in His own person, in order that His disciples might fulfil themselves what they had seen Him practising Himself, and that they might teach others to do the same.

"Further, the worship of God started at the beginning in the East; it is indeed in that direction that Adam and his children worshipped God, because the Paradise is in the direction of the east.[1] Moreover, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses used to worship God and to pray while turning towards the east and Paradise, that is towards the direction and the place in which God had been worshipped from the beginning by Adam and his children, as we have just now said. It is for this reason that Jesus Christ taught His disciples to worship God and pray towards the east. Because Adam transgressed the commandment of God, he was driven out of Paradise, and when he went out of Paradise he was thrown on this accursed earth. Having been thrown on this accursed earth, he turned his face away from God, and his children worshipped demons, stars, sun, moon and graven and molten images. The Word of God came then to the children of men in a human body, and in His person paid to God the debt that they were owing Him. To remind them, however, of the place from which their father was driven because of his transgression of the commandment, He made them turn their faces towards Paradise in their worship and prayer, because it is in it that God was first worshipped.

"Because Jesus Christ saved men from the deportation of Satan, and the Word of God freed them from the worship of idols, He rightly turned also the direction of their sight and their mind towards God and towards Paradise where He was first worshipped. He simply brought back the one who was going astray to the house of his father. This is also the reason why the angel Gabriel, when announcing to Mary the conception of Jesus Christ, appeared to her from the direction of the east as it is written in your book.[2] Finally, we worship God in the direction of the east, because being light He is more congruously worshipped in the direction of the light."

[1] That the Paradise of Eden was situated in the direction of the East is the opinion of the majority of Eastern Fathers, many of whom believe also that it is found in the firmament. To it, according to them, the souls of the just go till the day of the Resurrection.

[2] Kur'ān, xix. 16.

Our King then said to me: "Did Christ then worship and pray?"—And I answered his Majesty: "He did worship and pray."—And our King retorted saying: "By the fact that you say that He worshipped and prayed, you deny His divinity, because if He worshipped and prayed He is not God; if He was God, he would not have worshipped and prayed."—And I replied: "He did not worship and pray as God, because as such He is the receiver of the worship and prayer of both the celestial and the terrestrial beings, in conjunction with the Father and the Spirit, but He worshipped and prayed as a man, son of our human kind. It has been made manifest by our previous words that the very same Jesus Christ is Word-God and man, as God He is born of the Father, and as man of Mary. He further worshipped and prayed for our sake, because He Himself was in no need of worship and prayer."

And our King said to me: "There is no creature that has no need of worship and prayer."—And I replied: "Has Jesus Christ, the Word of God, sinned or not?"—And our King said: "May God preserve me from saying such a thing!"[1]—And I then asked: "Has God created the worlds with His Word or not?" And our King replied in the affirmative and said "Yes."—And I then asked: "Is the one who is neither a sinner nor in need of anything, in need of worship and prayer?"—And our King answered "No."—And I then said to him: "If the Christ is a Word from God, and a man from Mary, and if as a Word of God He is the Lord of everything, and as a man He did not commit any sin as the Book and our King testify, and if he who is the Lord of everything and a creator is not in need, and he who is not a sinner is pure, it follows that Jesus Christ worshipped and prayed to God neither as one in need nor as a sinner, but He worshipped and prayed in order to teach worship and prayer to His disciples, and through them to every human being.

"The disciples would not have yielded to His teaching, if He had not put it into practice in His own person. There is no creature that has not sinned except Jesus Christ, the Word of God, and He is the only created being who in His own humanity appeared above the dirt of sin. As He was baptised without having any need of baptism, and as He died on the Cross but not because of His own sin, so also

[1] The Arab, *a'ūdhu billāhi.*

He gave Himself to worship and prayer not for His own sake but in order to impart their knowledge to His disciples."

Our God-loving King ended the above subject here, and embarked on another theme and said to me: "How is it that you accept Christ and the Gospel from the testimony of the Torah and of the prophets, and you do not accept Muḥammad from the testimony of Christ and the Gospel?"[1] And I replied to his Majesty: "O our King, we have received concerning Christ numerous and distinct testimonies from the Torah and the prophets. All of the latter prophesied in one accord and harmony in one place about His mother: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son,"[2] and taught us that He shall be conceived and born without marital intercourse like the Word of God. It is inded fit that the One who was born of the Father without a mother should have been born in the flesh from a virgin mother without a father, in order that His second birth may be a witness to His first birth. In another place they reveal to us His name: "And His name shall be called Emmanuel, Wonderful, Counsellor, and Mighty God of the worlds."[3]

"In another place the prophets reveal to us the miracles that He will work at His coming in saying, 'Behold your God will come. . . . He will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall be loosened.'[4] Yet in another place they disclose to us His passion and His death, 'He shall be killed for our transgressions, and humbled for our iniquities.'[5] Sometimes they speak to us about His resurrection, 'For Thou hast not left my soul in Sheol, nor hast Thou suffered Thy Holy One to see corruption,'[6] and 'The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee.'[7] Some other times they teach us concerning His Ascension to Heaven, 'Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast led captivity captive, and Thou hast made gifts to men,'[8] and 'God went up in glory, and the Lord with the sound of a trumpet.'[9]

[1] That the name of Muḥammad is found in Jewish and Christian Books is the claim made by the Prophet himself in Ḳur'ān, vii. 156: "The *ummi* prophet whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel." See also lxi. 6.

[2] Is. vii. 14. [3] Is. vii. 14 and ix. 6. [4] Is. xxxv. 4-6. [5] Is. liii. 5.
[6] Ps. xvi. 10. [7] Ps. ii. 7. [8] Ps. lxviii. 18. [9] Ps. xlvii. 5.

"Some other times they reveal to us His coming down from heaven in saying, 'I am one like the son of men coming on the clouds of heaven, and they brought Him near before the Ancient of days, and there was given Him dominion, and glory and a kingdom that all peoples of the earth should serve Him and worship Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom shall not pass away nor be destroyed.'[1] These and scores of other passages of the prophets show us Jesus Christ in a clear mirror and point to Him. So far as Muḥammad is concerned I have not received a single testimony either from Jesus Christ or from the Gospel which would refer to his name or to his works"

And our benevolent and gracious King made a sign to mean that he was not convinced, then he repeated twice to me the question: "Have you not received any?"—And I replied to him: "No, O God-loving King, I have not received any."—And the King asked me: "Who is then the Paraclete?"—And I answered: The Spirit of God."—And the King asked: "What is the Spirit of God?"—And I replied: "God, by nature; and one who proceeds, by attribute; as Jesus Christ taught about Him."—And our glorious King said: "And what did Jesus Christ teach about Him?"—And I answered: "He spoke to His disciples as follows: 'When I go away to Heaven, I will send unto you the Spirit-Paraclete who proceedeth from the Father, whom the world cannot receive, who dwelleth with you and is among you, who searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, who will bring to your remembrance all the truth that I have said unto you, and who will take of mine and show unto you.'"[2]

And our King said to me: "All these refer to Muḥammad."[3] —And I replied to him: "If Muḥammad were the Paraclete, since the Paraclete is the Spirit of God, Muḥammad, would, therefore, be the Spirit of God; and the Spirit of God being uncircumscribed like God, Muḥammad would also be uncircumscribed like God; and he

[1] Dan. vii. 13-14.

[2] John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7; 1 Cor. ii. 10.

[3] The Muslims have always believed that the Paraclete spoken of in the Gospel referred to Muḥammad. See *Kitāb ad-Dīn* of Ibn Rabban (pp. 140-141 of my translation), who even corroborates his statement by an appeal to the numerical value of the letters of the word. Many other writers (such as Yaḥṣubi in his *shifā'*) counts the name Paraclete among the various names of the Prophet.

who is uncircumscribed being invisible, Muḥammad would also be invisible and without a human body ; and he who is without a body being uncomposed, Muḥammad would also be uncomposed. Indeed he who is a spirit has no body, and he who has no body is also invisible, and he who is invisible is also uncircumscribed ; but he who is circumscribed is not the Spirit of God, and he who is not the Spirit of God is not the Paraclete. It follows from all this that Muḥammad is not the Paraclete. The Paraclete is from heaven and of the nature of the Father, and Muḥammad is from the earth and of the nature of Adam. Since heaven is not the same thing as earth, nor is God the Father identical with Adam, the Paraclete is not, therefore, Muḥammad.

"Further, the Paraclete searches the deep things of God, but Muḥammad owns that he does not know what might befall him and those who accept him.[1] He who searches all things even the deep things of God is not identical with the one who does not know what might happen to him and to those who acknowledge him. Muḥammad is therefore not the Paraclete. Again, the Paraclete, as Jesus told His disciples, was with them and among them while He was speaking to them, and since Muḥammad was not with them and among them, he cannot, therefore, have been the Paraclete. Finally, the Paraclete descended on the disciples ten days after the ascension of Jesus to heaven, while Muḥammad was born more than six hundred years later, and this impedes Muḥammad from being the Paraclete. And Jesus taught the disciples that the Paraclete is one God in three persons, and since Muḥammad does not believe in the doctrine of three persons in one Godhead, he cannot be the Paraclete. And the Paraclete wrought all sorts of prodigies and miracles through the disciples, and since Muḥammad did not work a single miracle through his followers and his disciples, he is not the Paraclete.

"That the Spirit-Paraclete is consubstantial with the Father and the Son is borne out by the fact that He is the maker of the heavenly powers and of everything, and since he who is the maker and creator of everything is God, the Spirit-Paraclete is therefore God ; but the world is not able to receive God, as Jesus Christ said,[2] because God is uncircumscribed. Now if Muḥammad were the Paraclete, since

[1] Kur'ān, vi. 50 ; vii. 188 ; xi. 33, etc. [2] John xiv. 17.

this same Paraclete is the Spirit of God, Muḥammad would therefore be the Spirit of God. Further, since David said, 'By the Spirit of God all the powers have been created,'[1] celestial and terrestrial, Muḥammad would be the creator of the celestial and terrestrial beings. Now since Muḥammad is not the creator of heaven and earth, and since he who is not creator is not the Spirit of God, Muḥammad is, therefore, not the Spirit of God; and since the one who is not the Spirit of God is by inference not the Paraclete, Muḥammad is not the Paraclete.

"If he were mentioned in the Gospel, this mention would have been marked by a distinct portraiture characterising his coming, his name, his mother, and his people as the true portraiture of the coming of Jesus Christ is found in the Torah and in the prophets. Since nothing resembling this is found in the Gospel concerning Muḥammad, it is evident that there is no mention of him in it at all, and that is the reason why I have not received a single testimony from the Gospel about him."[2]

And the God-loving King said to me: "As the Jews behaved towards Jesus whom they did not accept, so the Christians behaved towards Muḥammad whom they did not accept."—And I replied to his Majesty: "The Jews did not accept Jesus in spite of the fact that the Torah and the prophets were full of testimonies about Him, and this renders them worthy of condemnation. As to us we have not accepted Muḥammad because we have not a single testimony about him in our Books."—And our King said: "There were many testimonies but the Books have been corrupted, and you have removed them."—And I replied to him thus: "Where is it known, O King, that the Books have been corrupted by us, and where is that uncorrupted Book from which you have learned that the Books which we use have been corrupted? If there is such a book let it be placed in the middle in order that we may learn from it which is the corrupted

[1] Ps. xxxiii. 6; civ. 30.

[2] The bulk of Muslim testimony, based on Ḳur'ān, vii. 156, is to the effect that the name of Muḥammad is found in the Gospel. Almost all the work of Ibn Rabban entitled *Kitāb ad-Dīn wad-Daulah* has been written for the purpose of showing that this name is found in Jewish and Christian scriptures. (See especially pp. 77-146 of my translation.) *Cf.* Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, i., ii., 89 and i. i., 123, and see the commentator Ṭabari on Ḳur'ān, vii. 156, and the historians Ibn Hishām and Ṭabari.

Gospel and hold to that which is not corrupted. If there is no such a Gospel, how do you know that the Gospel of which we make use is corrupted?

"What possible gain could we have gathered from corrupting the Gospel? Even if there was mention of Muḥammad made in the Gospel, we would not have deleted his name from it; we would have simply said that Muḥammad has not come yet, and that he was not the one whom you follow, and that he was going to come in the future. Take the example of the Jews: they cannot delete the name of Jesus from the Torah and the Prophets, they only contend against Him in saying openly that He was going to come in the future, and that He has not come yet into the world. They resemble a blind man[1] without eyes who stands in plain daylight and contends that the sun has not yet risen. We also would have done likewise; we would not have dared to remove the name of Muḥammad from our Book if it were found anywhere in it; we would have simply quibbled concerning his right name and person like the Jews do in the case of Jesus. To tell the truth, if I had found in the Gospel a prophecy concerning the coming of Muḥammad, I would have left the Gospel for the Ḳur'ān, as I have left the Torah and the Prophets for the Gospel."

And our King said to me: "Do you not believe that our Book was given by God?"—And I replied to him: "It is not my business to decide whether it is from God or not. But I will say something of which your Majesty is well aware, and that is all the words of God found in the Torah and in the Prophets, and those of them found in the Gospel and in the writings of the Apostles, have been confirmed by signs and miracles; as to the words of your Book they have not been corroborated by a single sign or miracle. It is imperative that signs and miracles should be annulled by other signs and miracles. When God wished to abrogate[2] the Mosaic law, He confirmed by the signs and miracles wrought by the Christ and the Apostles that the words of the Gospel were from God, and by this He abrogated the words of the Torah and the first miracles.[3] Similarly, as He abrogated

[1] Read *samya* in sing. [2] Read *d-nishré*.

[3] Muslim tradition, somewhat against Ḳur'ān, xxix. 49, etc., is full of miracles of all sorts attributed to the Prophet. All these miracles have apparently been invented in order to answer the objection of the Christians to the effect that since Muḥammad performed no miracle he was not a

the first signs and miracles by second ones, He ought to have abrogated the second signs and miracles by third ones. If God had wished to abrogate the Gospel and introduce another Book in its place He would have done this, because signs and miracles are witnesses of His will; but your Book has not been confirmed by a single sign and miracle. Since signs and miracles are proofs of the will of God, the conclusion drawn from their absence in your Book is well known to your Majesty."

And our King asked: "Who is then the rider on an ass, and the rider on a camel?"—And I replied: "The rider on an ass is Darius the Mede, son of Assuerus, and the rider on a camel is Cyrus the Persian, who was from Elam. The King of Elam destroyed the kingdom of the Medes, and passed it to the Persians,[1] as Darius the Mede had destroyed the kingdom of the Babylonians and passed it to the Medes."

And our King said to me: "From where is this known?"—And I replied: "From the context. In the preceding passage the prophet said, 'Go up, O Elam, and mountains of Media.'[2] By the words 'Mountains of Media' Darius the Mede is meant, and by the word 'Elam' the kingdom of the Persians is designated. The Book says also in the words that follow, 'And one of the horsemen came and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen,' and shows clearly that the passage refers to Darius and Cyrus, because it is they who destroyed the kingdom of the Babylonians."

And our King said: "Why did he say that the first was riding on an ass, and the second on a camel?"—And I replied: "The reason is that asses are generally more in use in the country of the Medes, while in the country of the Persians and Elamites camels are more in evidence. Through animals the prophet referred to countries, and through countries to the powers and kingdoms which were to rise in them. Further, because the kingdom of the Medes was to be weak and indolent while that of the Persians or Elamites was to be

prophet. Pp. 30-60 of my edition of Ibn Rabban's *Apology*, the *Kitāb ad-Dīn wad-Daulah*, have been written for this purpose. The extent to which later tradition amplified this fabulous theme may be gauged by the references given in Wensinck's *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, pp. 165-168. The theme of the lack of miracles on the part of the Prophet is emphasised by the Christian apologist Kindi, *Risālah*, pp. 62 *sqq.* and 67.

[1] Read *l-Parsāyé*.

[2] Is. xxi. 2.

strong and valiant, God alluded to the kingdom of the Medes through the weak ass, and to that of Elamite and Persians through the valiant camel. In the Book of Daniel also God alluded to the kingdom of the Medes through the indolent bear, and to that of the Elamites and Persians through the valiant leopard.[1] Again, in the vision of the King Nebuchadnezzar God symbolised the kingdom of the Medes in the malleable silver, while that of the Persians and Elamites in the strong brass.[2] In this same way the prophet alluded to the kingdom of Media through the ass, and to that of Elam through the camel."

And our King said to me: "The rider on the ass is Jesus and the rider on the camel is Muḥammad."—And I answered his Majesty: "O our God-loving King, neither the order of times nor the succession of events will allow us to refer in this passage the riding on the ass to Christ and the riding on the camel to Muḥammad. It is known with accuracy from the order and succession of the revelations to the prophets that the ass refers to the Medes and the camel to the Elamites, and this order of the revelations and this succession of events impede us from ascribing the words of the scripture to other persons. Even if one, through similarity between adjectives and names, does violence to the context and refers the passage dealing with the ass to Jesus on account of a different passage: 'Lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass,'[3] yet it is not possible to refer the passage dealing with the camel to Muḥammad."[4]

And our King said: "For what reason?"—And I replied: "Because the prophet Jacob said, 'The sceptre of the kingdom shall not depart from Judah, nor an utterer of prophecy from his seed, until Jesus Christ come, because kingdom is His, and He is the expectation of the peoples.'[5] In this he shows that after the coming of the Christ

[1] Dan. vii. 5-6. [2] Dan. ii. 31 *sqq.* [3] Ezech. ix. 9.

[4] A great deal is made of this prophecy of Isaiah concerning the rider on an ass and the rider on a camel in Ibn Rabban's *Apology* the *Kitāb ad-Dīn* (pp. 95-97 of my edition). The author concludes his references to it in the following words of my own translation: "Are not men of intelligence and science amongst the *People of the Book* ashamed to attribute such a clear and sublime prophecy to some rude and barbarous people? . . . Did not the adversaries feel abashed in saying that the rightly guided prophets of the family of Isaac prophesied about the Kings of Babylon, Media, Persia, and Khuzistān, and neglected to mention such an eminent Prophet and such a great and Abrahamic nation?"

[5] Gen. xlix. 10 (Peshiṭta with slight changes).

there will be neither prophet nor prophecy. And Daniel also concurs in saying that for putting an end to all vision and prophecy, and for the coming of Christ, the King, seven weeks and threescore and two weeks will elapse, and then the Christ will be killed, and there will not be any more kingdom and prophecy in Jerusalem.[1] In this he showed that visions and prophecies will come to an end with the Christ. And the Christ Himself said : 'The prophets and the Torah prophesied until John.'[2] Every prophecy, therefore, ended with the time of Christ, and after Christ there was no prophecy nor did any prophet rise.[3] All the prophets prophesied about Jesus Christ, and the Christ directed us to the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is superfluous that after the knowledge that we have of God and the Kingdom of Heaven we should be brought down to the knowledge of the human and earthly things.

" As to the prophets they prophesied sometimes concerning the earthly affairs and kingdoms, and some other times concerning the adorable Epiphany and Incarnation of the Word-God. As to Jesus Christ He did not reveal to us things dealing with the law and earthly affairs, but He solely taught us things dealing with the knowledge of God and the Kingdom of Heaven. We have already said that all prophecy extended as far as Christ only, as Christ Himself and the prophets asserted, and since from the time of Christ downwards only the Kingdom of God is being preached, as Jesus Christ taught, it is superfluous that after the adorable Incarnation of Christ we should accept and acknowledge another prophecy and another prophet. A good and praiseworthy order of things is that which takes us up from the bottom to the top, from the human to the divine things, and from the earthly to the heavenly things ; but an order which would lower us from top to bottom, from divine to worldly, and from heavenly to earthly, things, is bad and blameworthy."

And our victorious King said to me : " Why do you worship the Cross ? "—And I replied : " First because it is the cause of life."—

[1] Dan. ix. 24 *sqq.* [2] Matt. xi. 13.

[3] The last of the prophets, according to Muslim apologists, is Muḥammad : " If the prophet had not appeared the prophecies of the prophets about Ishmael and about the Prophet who is the last of the prophets would have necessarily become without object." Ibn Rabban's *Apology*, the *Kitāb ad-Dīn*, p. 77 of my edition *et passim.*

And our glorious King said to me : " A cross is not the cause of life but rather of death."—And I replied to him : " The cross, is as you say, O King, the cause of death ; but death is also the cause of resurrection, and resurrection is the cause of life and immortality. In this sense the cross is the cause of life and immortality, and this is the reason why through it, as a symbol of life and immortality, we worship one and indivisible God. It is through it that God opened to us the source of life and immortality, and God who at the beginning ordered light to come out of darkness, who sweetened bitter water in bitter wood, who through the sight of a deadly serpent granted life to the children of Israel—handed to us the fruit of life from the wood of the Cross, and caused rays of immortality to shine upon us from the branches of the Cross.

" As we honour the roots because of the fruits that come out of them, so also we honour the Cross as the root of which the fruit of life was born to us, and from which the ray of immortality shone[1] upon us. As a decisive proof of the love of God for all, luminous rays of His love shine from all His creatures visible and invisible, but the most luminous rays of the love of God are those that shine from the rational beings. This love of God can then be demonstrated from all creatures, and from the ordinary Divine Providence that is manifest in them, but the great wealth of His love for all humanity is more strikingly in evidence in the fact that He delivered to death in the flesh His beloved Son for the life, salvation, and resurrection of all. It is only just, therefore, O our victorious King, that the medium through which God showed His love to all, should also be the medium through which all should show their love to God."[2]

And our King said to me : " Can God then Himself die ? "—And I replied to his Majesty : " The Son of God died in our nature, but not in His Divinity. When the royal purple and the insignia of the kingdom are torn, the dishonour redounds to the King : so also is the case with the death of the body of the Son-God."—And our King said to me : " May God preserve me from saying such a thing.[3] They did not kill Him and they did not crucify Him, but He made a

[1] Read *we-azlegh* with a *wāw*.

[2] This subject of the worship of the Cross is also alluded to at some length by the Christian apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, p. 139.

[3] Here as above on p. 31 the Arab. *a'ūdhu billāhi*.

similitude for them in this way."[1]—And I said to him: "It is written in the *Sūrat 'Īsa*, 'Peace be upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be sent again alive.'"[2] This passage shows that He died and rose up. Further, God said to 'Īsa (Jesus) "I will make Thee die and take Thee up again to me."[3]

And our King said: "He did not die then, but He will die afterwards."—And I replied to him: "Therefore He did not go up to heaven either, nor was He sent again alive, but He will go up to heaven afterwards and will be sent again alive in the future. No, our King, Jesus did go up to heaven a long time ago, and has been sent again alive, as your Book also testifies. If He went up it is obvious that He had died previously, and if He had died, it is known that He had died by crucifixion, as the Prophets had stated before His coming."

And our King said to me: "Which prophet said that He died by crucifixion?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "First the prophet David, who said, 'They pierced my hands and my feet, and my bones cried; and they looked and stared upon me; they parted my garments among them and cast lots upon my vesture.'[4] The Gospel testifies that all these were fulfilled. And Isaiah said, 'He shall be killed for our sins and humbled for our iniquity.'[5] And the prophet Jeremiah said, 'Wood will eat into His flesh and will destroy Him from the land of the living. I gave my body to wounds and my cheeks to blows, and I did not turn my face from shame and spittle.'[6] And the prophet Daniel said, 'And the Messiah shall be killed but not for Himself.'[7] And the prophet Zechariah said, 'And smite the shepherd of Israel on his cheeks,' and 'O sword, awake against my shepherd.'[8] Indeed numerous are the passages in which the prophets spoke of His death, murder, and crucifixion."

And our King said: "He made a similitude only for them in this way."—And I replied to him: "And who made a similitude for them in this way, O our King? How did God deceive them and

[1] Ḳur'ān, iv. 156. The *Kurrā'* apparently read the verb as *shabbaha* and not *shubbiha* in the time of the Patriarch Timothy.
[2] Ḳur'ān, xix. 34.
[3] Ḳur'ān, iii. 48. The Syriac *marfa'* from Arab. *wa-rāfi'uka*.
[4] Ps. xxii. 16-18 (Peshiṭta).
[5] Is., liii. 5 (Peshiṭta).
[6] Cf, Jer. Lam., iii. 4 and 30 etc.
[7] Dan. ix. 26. Read *laih*.
[8] Zech. xiii. 7.

show them something which was not true? It is incongruous to God that He should deceive and show something for another thing. If God deceived them and made a similitude for them, the Apostles who simply wrote what God had shown to them, would be innocent of the deception, and the real cause of it would be God. If on the other hand, we say that it is Satan who made such a similitude for the Apostles, what has Satan to do in the Economy of God? And who dares to say about the *ḥawārīyūn*[1] that Satan was able to deceive them? The Apostles drove and cast away the demons, who shouted and run away from them on account of the Divine power that was accompanying them. If crucifixion was only an unreal similitude, and if from it death took place, even death would be an unreal similitude; we further assert that from this death there has been resurrection, which in this case would also be an unreal similitude; then out of this resurrection there has been ascension to heaven, which would also be unreal and untrue. Now since the resurrection precedes the ascension, this resurrection is also a reality and not a similitude; and since death was a reality and not a similitude, and since death is preceded by crucifixion, this crucifixion is consequently a reality also, and not an illusion or a similitude."

And our King said: "It was not honourable to Jesus Christ that God should have allowed Him to be delivered to Jews in order that they might kill Him."—And I answered his Majesty: "The prophets have been killed by the Jews, but that not all those who have been killed by the Jews are despicable and devoid of honour[2] is borne out by the fact that none of the true prophets is despicable and devoid of honour in the sight of God. Since it is true that the prophets have generally been killed by the Jews, it follows that not all those who have been killed by the Jews are despicable and devoid of honour. This we assert for the prophets. So far as Jesus Christ is concerned we say that the Jews crucified only the Christ in the flesh, which He delivered to them voluntarily, and His murder was not imposed forcibly upon Him by them. Because He, Jesus Christ, said, 'I have power upon my soul to lay it down, and I have power to take

[1] The Arabic word often used in the Ḳur'ān to express "Apostles." It is of Ethiopic origin.

[2] The word "Jew" has been, and is often in our days, a term of derision in the East, where also it indicates weakness and powerlessness.

it again ; and no man taketh it from me.'[1] In this He showed that He would suffer out of His own free will, and not out of His own weakness or from the omnipotence of the Jews. He who when hanging on the wood of the Cross moved the heavens, shook the earth, changed the dazzling sun into darkness and the shining moon into blood-redness, and He who rent the stones and the graves, raised and resuscitated the dead, could not be so weak as not to be able to save Himself from the hands of the Jews. It is, therefore, out of His own free will that He approached the suffering on the cross and death, and He did not bear the death of crucifixion at the hands of the Jews out of abjection and weakness on His part, but He bore both crucifixion and death at the hands of the Jews out of His own free will."

And our King said : "No blame attaches, therefore, to the Jews from His death, if they simply fulfilled and satisfied His wish."—And I answered his Majesty : "If the Jews had solely crucified Him in order that He might raise the dead and ascend to heaven, they would naturally have been not only free from blame, but worthy of thousands of crowns and of encomia of all kinds, but if these same Jews crucified Him in order not that He might rise up again from the dead and ascend to heaven, but in order that they might intensify His death and obliterate Him from the surface of the earth, they would with great justice be worthy of blame and death. Indeed they crucified Him not in order that He might go up to heaven but go down to Sheol ; God, however, raised Him up from the dead and took Him up to heaven."

And our God-loving King said to me ; "Which of the two things would you be willing to admit ? Was the Christ willing to be crucified or not ? If He was willing to be crucified, the Jews who simply accomplished His will should not be cursed and despised. If, however, He was not willing to be crucified and He was crucified, He was weak and the Jews were strong. In this case, how can He be God, He who found Himself unable to deliver Himself from the hands of His crucifiers whose will appeared to be stronger than His ?"

And I answered these objections by other questions as follows : "What would our King, endowed with high acumen and great wisdom, say to this : When God created Satan as one of the angels, did He wish this Satan to be an angel or not ? If God wished Him

[1] John x. 18.

to be Satan instead of an angel, the wicked Satan would, therefore, simply be accomplishing the will of God ; but if God did not wish Satan [1] to be Satan but an angel, and in spite of that he became Satan, the will of Satan became stronger than the will of God. How can we then call God one whose will was overcome by the will of Satan, and one against whom Satan prevailed ?

" Another question : Did God wish Adam to go out of Paradise or not ? If He wished to drive him out of Paradise, why should Satan be blamed, who simply helped to do the will of God in his driving Adam from Paradise. On the other hand, if God did not wish Adam to go out of Paradise, how is it that the will of God became weak and was overcome, while the will of Satan became strong and prevailed ? How can He be God, if His will has been completely overcome ? The fact that Satan and Adam sinned against the will of God does not affect the divinity of God and does not show Him to be weak and deficient, and the fact that God had willed Satan to fall from heaven and Adam to go out of Paradise does not absolve Satan and Adam from blame and censure, and the fact that they did not sin to accomplish the will of God but to accomplish their own will are a good analogy to the case of Jesus Christ. He should not indeed be precluded from being God, nor should He be rendered weak and deficient in strength by the fact that the Jews sinned but not by His will, and that in their insolence they crucified Him ; and the fact that the Christ wished to be crucified and die for the life, resurrection and salvation of all should not exempt the Jews from hell and curse.

" The Jews did not crucify the Christ because He willed it, but they crucified Him because of their hatred and malice both to Himself and to the One who sent Him. They crucified Him in order that they might destroy Him completely, and He willed to be crucified so that He might live again and rise from the dead, and be to all men the sign and proof of the resurrection of the dead.

" Another question : What would our victorious and powerful King say about those who fight for the sake of God.[2] Do they wish to be killed or not ? If they do not wish to be killed and are killed, their death has no merit, and they will not go to heaven ;[3] and if they

[1] The Arabic Ḳur'ānic word *iblīs*.
[2] The Arabic : *muṭawwa'īn bi-sabīl il lāhi*.
[3] Syr. *ganntha* from which the Ḳur'ānic Arabic *jannah*.

wish to be killed, are their murderers blameworthy or not? If they are not blameworthy, how is it that unbelievers who killed Muslims and believers are not blameworthy, and if they are blameworthy, why should they be so when what they did was simply to fulfil the wish of the victims? The fact is that the murderers of the men who fight for the sake of God are not exempted from fire and hell; indeed, the murderers do not slay them so that they may go to heaven, but they do it out of their wickedness and in order to destroy them. In this way also the Jews will not be exempted from the eternal fire by the fact that Jesus Christ wished to be crucified and die for all. They did not crucify Him because He wished to be crucified, but because they wished to crucify Him. They did not crucify Him in order that He might live again and rise up from the dead, but they crucified Him in order that He might be destroyed once for all. Let this suffice for this subject.

"Jesus was also able to save Himself from the Jews, if He had wished to do so. This is known first from the fact that on several occasions they ventured to seize Him, but because He did not wish to be seized by them, no one laid hands on Him. It is also known by the fact that while He was hanging on the cross, He moved the heavens, shook the earth, darkened the sun, blood-reddened the moon, rent the stones, opened the graves, and gave life to the dead that were in them. He who was able to do all these things in such a divine way, was surely able to save Himself from the Jews. And He who rescued from the mouth of Sheol in such a wonderful way the temple of His humanity after it had lain therein for three days and three nights, was surely able to save and rescue the very same temple from the unjust Jews, but if He had saved it He would not have been crucified, and if He had not been crucified He would not have died, and if He had not died He would not have risen up to immortal life, and if He had not risen up to immortal life, the children of men would have remained without a sign and a decisive proof of the immortal life.

"To-day because of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead the eyes of all the children of men look towards an immortal life, and consequently in order that this expectation of the immortal life and of the world to come might be indelibly impressed upon mankind, it was right that Jesus Christ should rise from the dead; but in order that He might rise from the dead, it was right that He should first die, and in

order that He might truly die it was imperative that His death should have been first witnessed by all, as His resurrection was witnessed by all. This is why He died by crucifixion. If He were to suffer, to be crucified and die before all, when He had to rise from the dead His resurrection would also be believed by all. Immortal life is thus the fruit of the crucifixion, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead—a resurrection which all believers expect—is the outcome of the death on the cross.

"If He had delivered Himself from the hands of His crucifiers, He would have brought profit to Himself alone, and would have been of no use to the rest of mankind, like Enoch and Elijah who are kept in Paradise beyond the reach of death for their exclusive benefit, but now that He delivered Himself into the hands of crucifiers, and they dared to kill Him on their own account, He conquered death after three days and three nights, rose up to immortal life and brought profit first to His own self and then to all creatures, and He became the sign and proof of resuscitation and resurrection to all rational beings. He put His wish into practice in an Economy full of wisdom, and His crucifiers cannot be absolved from blame any more than the brothers of Joseph can be absolved from blame.

"When Joseph was sold by his brothers as a slave to some men, and he afterwards rose up from slavery to the government of Egypt, it was not the aim of those who sold him that he should govern Egypt. If they had dreamed of this they would never have sold him into slavery. Indeed, those who were unable to bear the recital of Joseph's dreams on account of their intense jealousy and violent envy, how could they have borne seeing him at the head of a Government. They sold him into slavery but God, because of the injustice done to him by his brothers, raised him from slavery to power. This analogy applies to the Jews and to Satan their teacher : if they had known that Christ would rise again to life from the dead and ascend from earth to heaven after His crucifixion, they would never have induced themselves to crucify Him, but they crucified Him out of their own wicked will."

"What would you say to this, O King of Kings : If your Majesty had a house and wanted to pull it down in order to rebuild it again, if an enemy came and pulled it down and burned it with fire, would you give thanks to that enemy for his action in pulling down the house, or

would you not rather inflict punishment on him, as on one who had demolished and burned a house belonging to your Majesty?"—And our King replied: "The one who would do such a thing would deserve a painful death"—And I then answered: "So also the Jews deserve all kinds of woes, because they wished to demolish and destroy the temple of the Word of God, which was anointed and confirmed by the Holy Spirit, which was divinely fashioned without the intervention of man from a holy virgin, and which God raised afterwards to heaven. God showed in all this its thorough distinction from, and its high superiority over, all else. As the heaven is high above the earth, the temple of the Word of God is greater and more distinguished than all angels and children of men. If Jesus Christ is in heaven and heaven is the throne of God, it follows that Jesus Christ sat on the throne of God."

And our King said to me: "Who gave you the Gospel?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "Our Lord Jesus Christ"—And our victorious King asked: "Was it before or after His ascension to heaven?"—And I replied to him: "Before His ascension to heaven. As the Gospel is the narrative of the Economy of the works and words of Jesus Christ, and as the works of Jesus Christ were done and His concrete words were uttered before His ascension to heaven, it follows that the Gospel was delivered to us before His ascension to heaven. Further, if the Gospel is the proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven, and this proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven has been delivered to us by the mouth of our Lord, it follows that the Gospel was also delivered to us by the mouth of our Lord."

And our King, invested with power, said to me: "Was not a part of the Gospel written by Matthew, another part by Mark, a third part by Luke, and a fourth part by John?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "It is true, O our King, that these four men wrote the Gospel. They did not write it, however, out of their own head nor from the fancies of their mind. Indeed they had no literary attainments of any kind, and by profession they were generally fishermen, shoemakers or tentmakers. They wrote and transmitted to us what they had heard and learned from Jesus Christ, who had taught them in actions and words during all the time He was walking with them in the flesh on the earth, and what the Spirit-Paraclete had reminded them of."

And our King said to me: "Why are they different from one another and contradict one another?"—And I answered his Majesty: "It is true that there is difference between their words, as to contradiction there is not any between them, not even in a single case. Different people write differently even on the creation of God, the Lord of all: some of them speak of the great height of heaven, some others of the brilliant rays of the sun, some others of the wonderful phases of the moon, some others of the fine beauty of the stars, some others of the atmosphere, some others of the land and sea, and some others of some other topics. Further, among the people who write on heaven alone some speak of its immense height and some others of the swiftness of its movement, and among those who speak of the sun alone, some write on the high and dazzling resplendence of its light, some others on its heat, some others on the roundness of its sphere, some others on its purity and clearness, and some others on its multitudinous powers and effects.

"Let your Majesty order some men to write on the topic of the resplendent glory of your Majesty, and some others on the great quantity of your gold and silver, and some others on the lustre of your pearls and precious stones, and some others on the beauty and fine features of the face of your Majesty, and some others on the power, might and strength of your Kingdom, and some others on the wisdom and intelligence of your Majesty, and yet some others on your gentleness, virtue, and piety. In what they will write there might be differences of words in their statements of facts, but there will not be any contradiction between them, not even in a single item. They will all be right in all that they will write, although some of them might omit some items, because there is no one who is able to speak with accuracy of everything dealing with the works of God nor with the greatness of the glory of your Majesty. The above applies to what the evangelists wrote concerning the words, deeds, and natures of Jesus Christ. There are here and there differences in their statements, but as to contradictions there are none whatever. The four of them write in the same way and without discrepancies and differences on the main topics of His conception, birth, baptism, teaching, passion on the cross, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension to heaven."

And our powerful King said to me: "You should know, O Catholics, that as God gave the law through the prophet Moses and

the Gospel through the Christ, so He gave the *furḳān*[1] through Muḥammad"—And I replied: "O my victorious King, the changes that were to take place in the law given through Moses, God had clearly predicted previously through the prophets whom we have mentioned. God said thus through the prophet Jeremiah and showed the dissolution of the law of Moses and the setting up of the Gospel, 'Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which covenant they nullified, and I also despised them, saith the Lord: but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their minds and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour nor his brother, saying, "Know the Lord," for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them.'[2] In the above words God demonstrated both the dissolution of the law of Moses and the setting up of the Gospel.

"Through another prophet, called Joel, God disclosed the signs which would occur at the time of the dissolution of the Torah and the setting up of the Gospel, and the signs concerning the Spirit-Paraclete which the Apostles, the commanders of the army of the Gospel, were to receive, because He said through him, 'And afterwards I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour my spirit in those days.'[3] This is said of the Spirit-Paraclete who descended on the Apostles after the ascension of Jesus to heaven, according to the promise that He had previously given. And the prophet adds, 'And I will show wonders in the

[1] I.e. the Ḳur'ān. This Ḳur'ānic word is the Syriac *furḳāna*, "salvation."

[2] Jer. xxxi. 32-34. This prophecy is with much ingenuity ascribed to Muḥammad and to Islam by the Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, who concludes his statement as follows: "These meanings cannot be ascribed to any other besides the Muslims." *Kitāb ad Dīn*, p. 125 of my translation.

[3] Joel ii. 28-29.

heavens and the earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood.'[1] All this took place at the Passion of Jesus Christ on the Cross. And he further adds, 'Before the great and the terrible day of the Lord;' he calls the 'great and terrible day of the Lord,[2] the day on which the Word-God will appear in our flesh with great power and glory of angels, and the day on which the stars will fall from heaven, as Jesus Himself said in the Gospel.'[3] And the prophet further adds, 'Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved,' that is to say whosoever shall receive the Gospel of God shall live an everlasting life.

"God, therefore, pointed clearly to the transition from the Law to the Gospel when He showed us a new covenant, and signs, witnessed by men, that appeared in heaven and earth, in sun, moon, and stars, and when He showed us the gifts of the Holy Spirit which He imparted to the Apostles: wonders, signs, and miracles. God nowhere showed such irrefragable signs for the transition from the Gospel to something else. The Law that was given by Moses was the symbol of the Gospel, and the Gospel is the symbol of the Kingdom of Heaven, and there is nothing higher than the Kingdom of Heaven."

And our powerful King said to me: "Did not God say clearly to the children of Israel, 'I will raise you up a prophet from among your brethren like unto me.'[4] Who are the brethren of the children of Israel besides the Arabs,[5] and who is the prophet like unto Moses besides Muḥammad?"—And I answered his Majesty: "The Israelites have many other brethren besides the Arabs, O our Sovereign. First of all the six sons of Abraham by Keturah are nearer to the Arabs than the Israelites, then the Edomites composed of three hundred clans are also nearer to the Israelites than the Arabs. Jacob from whom descended the Israelites, and Esau from whom sprang the Edomites are indeed brothers and sons of Isaac, and Isaac from whom the Jews descend and Ishmael from whom the Arabs spring, together with Zimran and Jokshan[6] and their brothers, the sons of Keturah, are children of Abraham. If the sentence of the

[1] Joel ii. 30.
[2] The Cod. repeats inadvertently.
[3] Cf. Matt. xxv. etc.
[4] Deut. xviii. 18.
[5] Lit. Ishmaelites.
[6] Cod. Joktan *ex errore* see Gen. xxv. 2.

prophet Moses refers to the brethren of the children of Israel and not to their own twelve tribes, it would be more appropriate to apply it to the Edomites, because it has been shown that they are nearer to the Israelites than the Arabs. It is not only the Arabs who are the brethren of the Israelites but also the Ammonites and the Moabites.

"Further, Moses said to the children of Israel that God will raise up from among their brethren a prophet to themselves and not to the Arabs, because he says that the prophet whom the Lord your God will raise up will be from among yourselves and not from outside yourselves, from your brethren and not from strangers, and then that prophet will be similar and not dissimilar to him in doctrine. This Biblical passage resembles that other passage in which God said to them concerning a king, 'I will raise up for thee a king from thy brethren.'[1] As in the subject of a king God does not refer to the children of Ishmael by the word 'their brethren,' so also in the subject of a prophet He does not refer to them through the same word.

"Further, you assert that Muḥammad has been sent as a prophet to his own people.[2] We must examine in this respect the construction of the words. It is said: a prophet from yourselves, from among your brethren, and like unto me. If Muḥammad be a prophet like Moses, Moses wrought miracles and prodigies; and Muḥammad, who would in this case be a prophet like Moses, should have wrought many miracles and prodigies. And then, if Muḥammad be a prophet like Moses, since Moses practised and taught the Law that was given to him on Mount Sinai, Muḥammad should similarly have taught the Torah and practised the circumcision, and observed the Jewish Sabbath and festivals. Muḥammad did not teach the Torah, and Moses taught the Torah, the prophet Muḥammad is not, therefore, like unto Moses, because the one who was to be a prophet like unto Moses, would not have changed anything from Moses, and the one who is different in one thing from Moses is not a prophet like unto Moses. The prophet Moses spoke the above words concerning the prophets who from time to time rose after him from this or that Jewish tribe, such as Joshua son of Nun, David, Samuel, and others

[1] Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 14; Jer. xxx. 10. [2] Arab. *Ḳaum*.

after them, who from generation to generation were sent to the Israelites."[1]

And our victorious King said to me: "What is the punishment of the man who kills his mother?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "And what is the punishment of the man who does not respect the honour of his mother?"—And our King said to me: "Strokes, fetters, and death."—And I said to his Majesty: "The decision of your Majesty is just. And the man who kills his mother is also liable to the same punishment."—And our King said to me: "Jesus Christ is, therefore, liable to the same punishment, because He let His mother die and so killed her."—And I asked the King: "Which is the highest, this world or the world to come?" And our King answered: "The world to come."—And I then replied to his Majesty: "If Jesus Christ let His mother die, and through death He transferred her to the next world, which as your Majesty asserts is better than this one, He therefore invested His mother with a higher dignity and more sublime honour; and since the one who honours his mother is worthy of all blessings, Jesus Christ who transferred His mother from the mortal life to the immortal one and from the land of troubles to the Kingdom of Heaven, is, therefore, worthy of all blessings.

"What should Jesus Christ have done? While He takes up everybody from earth to heaven, and while, as God said, He causes them to be immortal after having been mortal, should He only have

[1] Great ingenuity is shown by the Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, to ascribe this prophecy to Muḥammad. We will quote him here in full: "And God has not raised up a prophet from among the brethren of the children of Israel except Muḥammad. The phrase, 'from the midst of them' acts as a corroboration and limitation, viz. that he will be from the children of their father, and not from an avuncular relationship of his. As to Christ and the rest of the prophets, they were from the Israelites themselves; and he who believes that the Most High God has not put a distinction between the man who is from the Jews themselves and the man who is from their brethren, believes wrongly. The one who might claim that this prophecy is about the Christ, would overlook two peculiarities and show ignorance in two aspects; the first is that the Christ is from the children of David, and David is from themselves and not from their brethren; the second is that he who says once that the Christ is Creator and not created, and then pretends that the Christ is like Moses, his speech is contradictory and his saying is inconsistent." *Kitāb ad-Dīn*, pp. 85-86 of my translation.

left His own mother in this mortal life? This would have been a great disgrace; but her death which took place like that of every other human being, was only natural and did not bring the smallest disgrace to her. As it was not a dishonour to her to have been born from a womb, so also it was not a dishonour to her to have been born again to eternal life from death and earth.[1] If Mary had not died, she would not have risen; and if she had not risen, she would have been far from the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is fair that Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ through whom the Kingdom of Heaven was revealed, should have been raised up first to heaven. It was, therefore, imperative that she should have died. He who demolishes a house in order to renew it and ornament it, is not blameworthy but praiseworthy."

And our King said to me: "Is Jesus Christ good or not?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "If Jesus Christ is the Word of God, and God is good, Jesus Christ is, therefore, good. He is one nature with God, like light is one with the sun."—And our King said: "How then did Jesus say, 'There is none good but one, that is one God?"[2]—And I replied to him: "Was the Prophet David just or not?"—And our King said: "He was just and head of the just."—And I said then: "How then did the prophet David say, 'There is no one that is just, no, not one,'"[3]—And our King said: "This saying does not include David. It has been said of the wicked ones."—And I said: "So also the sentence, 'There is none good but one' cannot possibly include the Christ. As the sentence, 'There is no one that is just' embraces many others to the exclusion of David, so also the sentence, 'There is none good' embraces many others to the exclusion of Jesus Christ, and as David did not include himself when he said, 'There is no just man, no, not even one,' so also the Christ did not include Himself when he said, 'There is none good but one, and that is one God.'

"The very same Jesus Christ who said about Himself, 'I am the *good* shepherd,'[4] could not have said the above sentence, 'There is none good' about Himself. Indeed, He said this sentence about the one whom He was addressing. The latter was thinking this in his

[1] The following pronoun and verb are probably to be used in feminine: *lah* for *lan*, *tithiledh* for *nithiledh*.

[2] Matt. xix. 17. [3] Peshitta Version. [4] John x. 11.

heart: how difficult are the laws that Jesus Christ is establishing! There is none good but one God who gave us all the good things found in the land of promise. As to Jesus Christ, He disclosed to him his hidden thoughts and showed to him that his words were in flagrant contradiction with his thoughts, in calling Him in his words 'good master' while in his thoughts he was saying 'This one was no good,' and wishing to rebuke him He disclosed to him his thoughts and said to him, 'Why callest thou me good with thy tongue while in thy thoughts thou sayest about me, "This one is no good, because He orders me to squander my fortune; there is none good but one that is God"'? Jesus Christ makes mention both of a *good* man and a *good* tree.[1] How is it possible that there is a good man and a good tree, and Jesus Christ alone is not good? How can this be possible?"

And our King said to me: "If you accepted Muḥammad as a prophet your words would be beautiful and your meanings fine"—And I replied to his Majesty: "We find that there is only one prophet who would come to the world after the ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven and His descent from heaven.[2] This we know from the prophet Malachi and from the angel Gabriel when he announced the birth of John to Zechariah."

And our King said: "And who is that prophet?"—And I replied: "The prophet Elijah. The prophet Malachi who is the last of the prophets of the Law, said, 'Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments. Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.'[3] And the angel Gabriel when announcing to Zechariah the

[1] Luke vi. 43, etc.

[2] That the line of defence of the Christians against the Muslims of the eighth and ninth centuries was to the effect that no prophet will rise after Christ is borne out by the Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, who in his Apology (*Kitāb ad-Dīn*, pp. 15, 17-18 of my edition) quotes against the Christians, Acts xi. 24; xiii. 1; xxi. 9, in which St. Luke speaks of prophets. On the Christian side it is well emphasised by the apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, p. 78.

[3] Mal. iv. 4-6.

birth of John reminded him of these very words, because he said to him, 'Fear not, Zechariah, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of the prophet Elijah, to turn [1] the hearts of the fathers to the children and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, and to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.[2]

"Think, O our victorious Sovereign, how the angel called Jesus 'the Lord their God.' It is this prophet Elijah who, as we have learned, will come into the world after the ascension of Jesus to heaven. He will come to rebuke the Antichrist, and to teach and preach to everybody concerning the second apparition of Jesus from heaven. As John, son of Zechariah, came before His apparition in the flesh, and announced Him to everybody in saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' [3] 'He is that shall baptise with Holy Ghost and fire,' [4] 'He is the one the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloosen' [5]—so also the prophet Elijah is going to come before the divine apparition of Jesus Christ from heaven in order to announce beforehand to all His glorious apparition, and to make them ready for His presence.

"Both messsengers, John and Elijah, are from one power of the Spirit, with the difference that one already came before Christ and the other is going to come before Him, and their coming is similar and to the same effect. In the second coming He will appear from heaven in a great glory of angels, to effect the resurrection of all the children of Adam from the graves. As the Word of God, He created everything from the beginning and He is going to renew everything at the end. He is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and there is no end and no limit to His Kingdom."

And our highly intelligent Sovereign said: "If you had not corrupted the Torah and the Gospel, you would have found in them Muḥammad also with the other prophets."—And to set his mind at

[1] Read *d-naphne* with a *Dalath*.
[2] Luke i. 13-17.
[3] John i. 29.
[4] Matt. iii. 11.
[5] Luke iii. 16.

rest on this subject I replied to him : " To the mind of your Majesty, O my illustrious Sovereign—you to whom God has granted that intelligence and broad-mindedness which are so useful for the administration of public and private affairs of the people, and you who speak and act in a way that is congruous with the dignity of your Majesty—it is due to inquire why and for what purpose we might have corrupted the Books. Both the Torah and the prophets proclaim as with the voice of thunder and teach us collectively the divinity and humanity of Christ, His wonderful birth from His Father before the times, a birth which no man will ever be able to describe and to comprehend. It is written, ' Who shall declare his generation,' [1] and, ' His coming out is in the beginning, from the days of the worlds ' [2] and, ' From the womb before the morning-star I have begotten Thee ' and, ' His name is before the sun.' [3]

" So far as His temporal birth is concerned it is written, ' Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Emmanuel.' [4] David and Isaiah and all the other prophets reveal to us clearly and distinctly the signs and miracles that He was going to perform in His appearance in the flesh, and the accurate knowledge of God with which the earth was going to be filled through this appearance. They tell us about His passion, His crucifixion, and His death in the flesh, as we have demonstrated above. They tell us about His resurrection from the dwelling of the dead and His ascension to heaven. Finally they enlighten us concerning His second appearance from heaven and concerning the resurrection of the dead which He is going to effect, and the judgment which He is going to hold for all, as one who is God and the Word of God. O our Sovereign, while all the corpus of the Christian doctrine is embodied in the Torah and the Gospel like a clear symbol and mirror, for what reason could we have dared to corrupt these living witnesses of our faith ? They are indeed the witnesses of our truth, O our Sovereign, and from them shines on us the resplendent light of the duality of the natures of the divinity and humanity of Christ, and that of His death, resurrection, and ascension to heaven. It could

[1] Is. liii. 8. [2] Cf. Is. li. 9 ; Prov. viii. 23-24.

[3] Cf. Ps. ii. 7 ; lxxii. 17 ; Is. xliv. 2, 24. This prophecy of David, " His name is before the sun " is referred by the Muslim apologist, ' Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, to Muḥammud himself. *Kitāb-ad-Dīn*, pp. 90 and 115 of my translation.

[4] Is. vii. 14.

never have been possible for us to stir ourselves against ourselves, and tamper with the testimony of the Torah and the gospel to our Saviour.

" Even if we were able to corrupt the Books of the Torah and the Gospel that we have with us, how could we have tampered with those that are with the Jews ? If one says here that we have corrupted those that are in our hands while the Jews themselves corrupted those that are in theirs, how is it that the Jews have not corrupted those passages through which the Christian religion is established ? The Christians never have had and will never have such deadly enemies as the Jews ; if the Jews had, therefore, tampered with their Book, how could we Christians induce ourselves to accept a text which had been corrupted and changed, a text which would have shaken the very foundations of the truth of our religion ? No ; the truth is that neither we nor the Jews have ever tampered with the Books. Our mutual hostility is the best guarantee to our statement.[1]

" If the Christians and the Jews are enemies, and if there is no possibility that enemies should have a common agreement on the line that divides them, it was therefore impossible for the Christians and the Jews to agree on the corruption of the Books. Indeed the Jews disagree with us on the meaning of some verbs and nouns, tenses and persons, but concerning the words themselves they have never had any disagreement with us. The very same words are found with us and with them without any changes. Since the Torah and the Prophets teach the truth of Christianity, we would have never allowed ourselves to corrupt them, and that is the reason why, O our victorious Sovereign, we could have never tampered with the Torah and the Prophets.

" The very same reason holds good with regard to the Gospel, which we could not and would not have corrupted under any circumstances. What the ancient prophets prophesied about the Christ is written in the Gospel about the Christ. The ray of light that shines on the eyes of our souls is the same from the Torah, from the prophets, and from the Gospel. The only difference is that in the first two Books the light is in words uttered in advance of the facts, while in the last Book it is in the facts themselves. What the prophets had taught us about the divinity and humanity of Christ, and about all the Economy

[1] That the Jews and Christians are enemies and that this enmity is a guarantee of the genuineness of the Biblical text is also emphasised by Kindi in his *Risālah*, p. 150.

of the Word-God in the flesh, the Gospel proclaimed to us without corruption in a glorious manner. Further, God, the giver of both the Torah and the Gospel is one, and if we had changed them in any way, we would have changed those things which according to some people are somewhat undignified in our faith."

And our victorious King asked me : " And what are those things which you call undignified in our faith ? "—And I replied to his benevolence : " Things such as the growth of Christ in stature and wisdom ; His food, drink, and fatigue ; His ire and lack of omniscience ; His prayer, passion, crucifixion, and burial, and all such things which are believed by some people to be mean and debasing. We might have changed these and similar things held by some people to be mean and undignified ; we might have also changed things that are believed by some other people to be contradictory, such as the questions dealing with the times, days, verbs, pronouns, and facts, questions which appear to some people to furnish a handle for objections that tend to some extent to weaken our statement. I submit that we might have been tempted to alter these, but since we did not induce ourselves to alter them, how could we have dared to tamper with whole passages revealed by God ? Not only could we not dream of tampering with them, but we are proud of them and consider them as higher and more sublime than others. From such higher and more sublime passages we learn that Jesus is an eternal God, and believe that He is consubstantial with the Father, and from the passages that are believed by some to be mean and undignified we learn that this same Jesus is a true man and having the same human nature as ourselves.

" No, O our victorious Sovereign, we have not changed, not even one iota, in the Divine Book, and if the name of Muḥammad were in the Book, how we would have expected his coming and longed for it, as we expected with an eager desire to meet those about whom the prophets wrote, when they actually came or they were about to come. Further, what closer relationship have we with the Jews than with the Arabs that we should have accepted the Christ who appeared from the Jews while rejecting the Prophet that appeared from the Arabs ? Our natural relationship with the Jews and with the Arabs is on the same footing. Truth to tell, the Jews, before the appearance of Christ, were honoured more than all other nations by God and by men, but after the sublime appearance of the Word-God from them,

since they shut their eyes in order not to rejoice in the light that came to enlighten the world, they have been despised and dejected, and they thought of God as other people did.

"A shell is kept in the royal treasuries as long as it contains a pearl, but when the pearl has been extracted from it, it is thrown outside and trodden under the feet of everyone. In this same way are the Jews : as long as the Christ had not appeared from them, but was hidden in them as a pearl is hidden in a shell, they were respected by all men, and God showed them to others, as a glorious and enlightened people, by means of the numerous signs and wonders that He performed among them ; but after the appearance from them of the Christ-God in the flesh, and their rejection of His revelation and their turning away from Him, they were delivered to slavery among all other peoples.

"The Jews are, therefore, despised to-day and rejected by all, but the contrary is the case with the Arabs, who are to-day held in great honour and esteem by God and men, because they forsook idolatry and polytheism, and worshipped and honoured one God ; in this they deserve the love and the praise of all ; if, therefore, there was an allusion to their Prophet in the Books, not only we would not have introduced any changes in it, but we would have accepted him with great joy and pleasure, in the same way as we are expecting the one of whom we spoke, and who is going to appear at the end of the world. We are not the correctors but the observers of the commandments of God."

And our Sovereign said with a jocular smile : "We shall hear you about these at some other time, when business affairs give us a better opportunity for such an intimate exchange of words."

And I praised God, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who grants to earthly Kings such a wisdom and understanding in order that through them they may administer their Empire without hindrance. And I blessed also his Majesty and prayed that God may preserve him to the world for many years and establish his throne in piety and righteousness for ever and ever. And in this way I left him on the first day.

HERE END THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE FIRST DAY.

The Questions and Answers of the Second Day.

The next day[1] I had an audience of his Majesty. Such audiences had contantly taken place previously, sometimes for the affairs of the State, and some other times for the love of wisdom and learning which was burning in the soul of his Majesty. He is a lovable man, and loves also learning when he finds it in other people, and on this account he directed against me the weight of his objections, whenever necessary.

After I had paid to him my usual respects as King of Kings, he began to address me and converse with me not in a harsh and haughty tone, since harshness and haughtiness are remote from his soul, but in a sweet and benevolent way.

And our King of Kings said to me: "O Catholicos, did you bring a Gospel with you, as I had asked you?"—And I replied to his exalted Majesty: "I have brought one, O our victorious and God-loving King."—And our victorious Sovereign said to me: "Who gave you this Book?"—And I replied to him: "It is the Word of God that gave us the Gospel, O our God-loving King."—And our King said: "Was it not written by four Apostles?"[2] And I replied to him: "It was written by four Apostles, as our King has said, but not out of their own heads, but out of what they heard and learned from the Word-God. If then the Gospel was written by the Apostles, and if the Apostles simply wrote what they heard and learned from the Word-God, the Gospel has, therefore, been given in reality by the Word-God. Similarly, the Torah was written by Moses, but since Moses heard and learned it from an angel, and the angel heard and learned it from God, we assert that the Torah was given by God and not by Moses.

"In the same way also the Muslims say that they have received the Ḳur'ān from Muḥammad, but since Muḥammad received knowledge and writing from an angel, they, therefore, affirm that the Book that was divulged through him was not Muḥammad's or the angel's but God's. So also we Christians believe that although the Gospel was given to us by the Apostles, it was not given as from them but as from God, His Word and His Spirit. Further, the letters

[1] Or possibly: On another occasion.
[2] Here also the Ḳur'ānic Arabic word *ḥawāriyūn*.

and official documents [1] of your Majesty are written by the hands of scribes and clerks, but they are not said to be those of scribes, but those of your Majesty, and of the Commander of the Faithful."

And our gracious and wise King said to me: "What do you say about Muḥammad?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "Muḥammad is worthy of all praise, by all reasonable people, O my Sovereign. He walked in the path of the prophets, and trod in the track of the lovers of God. All the prophets taught the doctrine of one God, and since Muḥammad taught the doctrine of the unity of God, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Further, all the prophets drove men away from bad works, and brought them nearer to good works, and since Muḥammad drove his people away from bad works and brought them nearer to the good ones, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Again, all the prophets separated men from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to God and to His cult, and since Muḥammad separated his people from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to the cult and the knowledge of one God, beside whom there is no other God, it is obvious that he walked in the path of the prophets. Finally Muḥammad taught about God, His Word and His Spirit, and since all the prophets had prophesied about God, His Word and His Spirit, Muḥammad walked, therefore, in the path of all the prophets.

"Who will not praise, honour and exalt the one who not only fought for God in words, but showed also his zeal for Him in the sword? As Moses did with the Children of Israel when he saw that they had fashioned a golden calf which they worshipped, and killed all of those who were worshipping it, so also Muḥammad evinced an ardent zeal towards God, and loved and honoured Him more than his own soul, his people and his relatives. He praised, honoured and exalted those who worshipped God with him, and promised them kingdom, praise and honour from God, both in this world and in the world to come in the Garden.[2] But those who worshipped idols and not God he fought and opposed, and showed to them the torments of hell and of the fire which is never quenched and in which all evildoers burn eternally.

"And what Abraham, that friend and beloved of God, did in

[1] Arab, *ṭūmār*.

[2] The Paradise of the Ḳur'ān.

turning his face from idols and from his kinsmen, and looking only towards one God and becoming the preacher of one God to other peoples, this also Muḥammad did. He turned his face from idols and their worshippers, whether those idols were those of his own kinsmen or of strangers, and he honoured and worshipped only one God. Because of this God honoured him exceedingly and brought low[1] before his feet two powerful kingdoms which roared in the world like a lion and made the voice of their authority heard in all the earth that is below heaven like thunder, viz: the Kingdom of the Persians and that of the Romans. The former kingdom, that is to say the Kingdom of the Persians, worshipped the creatures instead of the Creator, and the latter, that is to say the Kingdom of the Romans, attributed suffering and death in the flesh to the one who cannot suffer and die in any way and through any process.[2] He further extended the power of his authority through the Commander of the Faithful and his children from east to west, and from north to south. Who will not praise, O our victorious King, the one whom God has praised, and will not weave a crown of glory and majesty to the one whom God has glorified and exalted? These and similar things I and all God-lovers utter about Muḥammad, O my sovereign."

And our King said to me: "You should, therefore, accept the words of the Prophet."—And I replied to his gracious Majesty: "Which words of his our victorious King believes that I must accept?"—And our King said to me: "That God is one and that there is no other one besides Him."—And I replied: "This belief in one God, O my Sovereign, I have learned from the Torah, from the Prophets and from the Gospel. I stand by it and shall die in it."—And our victorious King said to me: "You believe in one God, as you said, but one in three."—And I answered his sentence: "I do not deny that I believe in one God in three, and three in one, but not in three different Godheads, however, but in the persons of God's Word and His Spirit. I believe that these three constitute one God, not in their person but in their nature. I have shown how in my previous words."

And our King asked: "How is it that these three persons whom you mention do not constitute three Gods?" And I answered his

[1] Put a *wāw* before the verb.
[2] Allusion to the Jacobites and Melchites.

Majesty: "Because the three of them constitute one God, O our victorious King, and the fact that He is only one God precludes the hypothesis that there are three Gods."—And our King retorted: "The fact that there are three precludes the statement that there is only one God. If there are three, how can they be one?"—And I replied: "We believe that they are three, O our Sovereign, not in Godhead, but in persons, and that they are one not in persons but in Godhead."—And our King retorted: "The fact that they are three precludes the statement that they are one, and the fact that they are one precludes the statement that they are three. This everybody will admit."—And I said to him: "The three in Him are the cause of one, and the one that of three, O our King. Those three have always been the cause of one, and that one of three."—And our King said to me: "How can one be the cause of three and three of one? What is this?"—And I answered his question: "One is the cause of three, O our King, because this number one is the cause of the number two, and the number two that of the number three. This is, how, one is the cause of three, as I said, O King. On the other hand the number three is also the cause of the number one because since the number three is caused by the number two and this number two by the number one, the number three is therefore the cause of number one."

And our King said to me: "In this process the number four would also be the cause of number five and so on, and the question of one Godhead would resolve itself into many Godheads, which, as you say, is the doctrine not of the Christians but of the Magians."—And I replied to our King: "In every comparison there is a time at which one must stop, because it does not resemble reality in everything. We should remember that all numbers are included in number three. Indeed the number three is both complete and perfect[1] and all numbers are included in a complete and perfect number. In this number three all other numbers are included, O our victorious King. Above three all other numbers are simply numbers added to themselves, by means of that complete and perfect number, as it is said. It follows from all this that one is the cause of three and three of one, as we suggested."—And our King said to me: "Neither three nor two can possibly be said of God."—And I replied to his Majesty: "Neither, therefore,

[1] Cf. the medieval Latin adage: *Omne trinum perfectum.*

one."—And our King asked : "How ?"—And I answered : "If the cause of three is two, the cause of two would be one, and in this case the cause of three would also be one. If then God cannot he said to be three, and the cause of three is two and that of two one, God cannot, therefore be called one either. Indeed this number one being the cause and the beginning of all numbers, and there being no number in God, we should not have applied it to Him. As, however, we do apply this number to God without any reference to the beginning of an arithmetical number, we apply to Him also the number three without any implication of multiplication or division of Gods, but with a particular reference to the Word and the Spirit of God, through which heaven and earth have been created, as we have demonstrated in our previous colloquy.[1] If the number three cannot be applied to God, since it is caused by the number one, the latter could not by inference be applied to God either, but if the number one can be applied to God, since this number one is the cause of the number three, the last number can therefore be applied also to God."

And our victorious King said : "The number three denotes plurality, and since there cannot be plurality in Godhead, this number three has no room at all in Godhead."—And I replied to his Majesty : "The number one is also the cause and the beginning of all number, O our King, and number is the cause of plurality. Since there cannot be any kind of plurality in God, even the number one would have no room in Him."—And our King said : "the number one as applied to God is attested in the Book."—And I said : "So also is the case, O our King, with a number implying plurality. We find often such a number in the Torah, in the Prophets and in the Gospel, and as I hear, in your Book also, not, however, in connection with Godhead but in relation to humanity."

"So far as the Torah is concerned it is written in it, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness ;'[2] and 'The man is become as

[1] The Christian apologist Kindi (*Risālah*, p. 35) develops this same idea of number one and number three to his adversary 'Abdallah b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimi and concludes as follows : "In number (also God is one because) He embraces all sorts of numbers, and number in itself is not numbered. Number, however, is divided into an even number and an odd number, and both even and odd numbers are finally included in the number three." *Risālah*, p. 36.

[2] Gen. i. 26.

one of us ;'[1] and, 'Let us go down, and there confound their language.'[2] As to the Prophets, it is witten in them, 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts ;'[3] and 'The Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me ;'[4] and 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all His hosts by the Spirit of His mouth.'[5] As to the Gospel, it is written in it, 'Go ye and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'[6] As to your Book, it is written in it, 'And we sent to her our Spirit,'[7] and 'We breathed into her from our Spirit,'[8] and 'We fashioned,' 'We said,' 'We did,' and all such expressions which are said of God in a plural form. If the Holy Books refer these words to God in a plural form, what the Books say concerning God we have to say and admit. Since we had to preserve without change the number one as applied to God, we had also by inference to preserve without modification the number three, that is to say plurality, as applied to Him. The number one refers to nature and Godhead, and the number three to God, His Word and His Spirit, because God has never been, is not, and will never be, without Word and Spirit."[9]

And our wise Sovereign said : "The plural form in connection with God, in the expressions 'We sent,' 'We breathed,' 'We said,' etc., has been used in the Books not as a sign of persons or of Trinity, but as a mark of Divine majesty and power. It is even the habit of the kings and governors of the earth to use such a mode of speech." —And I replied to the wealth of his intelligence : "What your glorious Majesty has said is true. To you God gave knowledge and understanding along with power and greatness, more than to all other countries and kings. The community of all mankind, whether composed of freemen or of subjected races is personified in the kings, and the

[1] Gen. iii. 22

[2] Gen. xi. 7. The very same argument taken from the plural of majesty to prove the Trinity is used by Kindi in his *Apology* for Christianity (*Risālah*, pp. 40-44), where the same Biblical verses are quoted to the same effect.

[3] Is. vi. 3.

[4] Is. xlviii. 16.

[5] Ps. xxx. 6 (Peshitta).

[6] Matt. xxviii. 19.

[7] Kur'ān, xix. 17 (read *luāthāh* in fem.).

[8] Kur'ān, xxi. 91 (read *bāh* in fem.).

[9] The idea that there was no time in which God could have been devoid of mind and life or otherwise of word and spirit is developed also by Kindi in his *Apology* for Christianity, *Risālah*, p. 39.

community of mankind being composed of innumerable persons, the kings rightly make use of the plural form in expressions such as, 'We ordered,' 'We said,' 'We did,' etc. Indeed the kings represent collectively all the community of mankind individually. If all men are one with the king, and the king orders, says and does, all men order, say and do in the king, and he says and does in the name of all.

"Further, the kings are human beings, and human beings are composed of body and soul, and the body is in its turn composed of the power of the four elements. Because a human being is composed of many elements, the kings make use not unjustly of the plural form of speech, such as 'We did,' 'We ordered,' etc.[1] As to God who is simple in His nature and one in His essence and remote from all division and bodily composition, what greatness and honour can possibly come to Him when He, who is one and undivided against Himself, says in the plural form, 'We ordered,' and, 'We did?' The greatest honour that can be offered to God is that He should be believed in by all as He is. In His essence He is one, but He is three because of His Word and His Spirit. This Word and this Spirit are living beings and are of His nature, as the word and the spirit of our victorious King are of his nature, and he is one King with his word and spirit, which are constantly with him without cessation, without division and without displacement.

"When, therefore, expressions such as, '*We* spoke,' '*We* said,' '*We* did,' and '*Our* image and likeness,' are said to refer to God, His Word and His Spirit, they are referred in the way just described, O King of Kings. Who is more closely united to God than His Word through which He created all, governs all and directs all? Or who is nearer to Him than His Spirit through which He vivifies, sanctifies and renews all? David spoke thus: 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all His hosts by the Spirit of His mouth;'[2] and, 'He sent His Word and healed them, and delivered them from destruction;'[3] and 'Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit and they are created, and Thou renewest the face of the earth.'[4]

"If one asserts that the expressions, '*Our* image' and '*Our* like-

[1] Put a *wāw* before *d-akh*. This idea is developed by Kindi in his Apology (*Risālah* p. 42) on the same lines.

[2] Ps. xxxiii. 6 (Peshiṭta). [3] Ps. cvii. 20.

[4] Ps. civ. 30.

ness' used by Moses and the expressions, '*We* made,' and '*We* breathed,' used by Muḥammad,[1] do not refer to God but to the angels, how disgraceful it would be to believe that the image and the likeness of God and those of the angels, that is of the creator and the created, are one! How dishonourable it would be to affirm that God says, orders and does with the angels and His creatures! God orders and does like the Lord and the creator, and orders and does in a way that transcends that of all others; but the angels being creatures and servants, do not order with God, but are under the order of God; they do not create with God, but are very much created by God. The angels are what David said about them, 'Who maketh His angels spirits and His ministers a flaming fire.'[2] In this he shows that they are made and created.

"As to the Word and Spirit of God the prophet David says that they are not created and made, but creators and makers:[3] '*By* the Word of the Lord were the heavens made,' and not His Word alone; and 'the heavenly hosts were created *by* His Spirit' and not His Spirit alone; and, 'Because He said and they were made, and He commanded and they were created.'[4] It is obvious that one who 'says,' 'says' and 'commands' by word, and that the word precedes the action, and the thought precedes the deed. Since God is one without any other before Him, with Him and after Him, and since all the above expressions which denote plurality cannot be ascribed to angels, and since the nature of God is absolutely free from all compositions—to whom could we ascribe then all such expressions? I believe, O our victorious King, that they refer to the Word and the Spirit of God. If it is right that the expression 'One God' is true, it is also right that the expression 'We ordered,' 'We said,' and 'We breathed from our Spirit' are without doubt true and not false. It is also possible that the three letters placed before some Sūrahs in the Ḳur'ān, as I have learned, such as A.L.R. and Ṭ.S.M. and Y.S.M. and others,

[1] This Ḳur'ānic use of the plural *we* in connection with God is also taken as an argument in favour of the Trinity by the Christian apologist Kindi. *Risālah*, p. 42.

[2] Ps. civ. 4.

[3] It would perhaps be better to put the verbs and pronouns of this sentence in plural.

[4] Ps. cxlviii. 5.

which are three in number, refer also in your Book to God, His Word and His Spirit.[1]

And our victorious King said: "And what did impede the Prophet from saying that this was so, that is that these letters clearly referred to God, His Word and His Spirit?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "The obstacle might have come from the weakness of those people who would be listening to such a thing. People whose ears were accustomed to the multiplicity of idols and false gods could not have listened to the doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or to that of one God, His Word, and His Spirit. They would have believed that this also was polytheism. This is the reason why your Prophet proclaimed openly the doctrine of one God, but that of the Trinity he only showed it in a somewhat veiled and mysterious way, that is to say through his mention of God, and of His Spirit and through the expressions 'We sent our Spirit' and 'We fashioned a complete man.'[2] He did not teach it openly in order that his hearers may not be scandalised by it and think of polytheism, and he did not hide it completely in order that he may not deviate from the path followed by Moses, Isaiah, and other prophets, but he showed it symbolically by means of the three letters that precede the Sūrahs.

"The ancient prophets had also spoken of the unity of the nature of God and used words referring to this unity in an open and clear way, but the words which referred to His three persons they used them in a somewhat veiled and symbolical way. They did so not for any other reason than that of the weakness of men whose mind was bound up in idolatry and polytheism. When, however, Christ appeared to us in the flesh, He proclaimed openly and clearly what the prophets had said in a veiled and symbolical way, 'Go ye,' said

[1] The Patriarch refers here to the mysterious letters placed at the beginning of some Sūrahs of the Ḳur'ān. It is highly interesting to learn that the Christians at the very beginning of the 'Abbasid dynasty understood them to refer to the Holy Trinity. In the Ḳur'ān of our day the letters A.L.R. are found before Sūrahs 10, 11, 12, 14 and 15, and the letters T.S.M. before Sūrahs xxvi. and xxviii., but the three letters Y.S.M. are not found before any Sūrah at all, but Sūrah xxxvi has only the two letters Y.S. Why this last change in our modern Ḳur'an? There is no question of a copyist's error in the Syriac text, because the letters are named in words and not written in figures only.

[2] Ḳur'ānic expressions.

He to His Disciples, 'and baptise all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'[1] Moses also uttered the same thing in a way that means both one and three, 'Hear, O Israel,' said he, 'The Lord your God is one Lord.'[2] In saying He 'is one,' he refers to the one nature of Godhead, and in saying the three words, 'Lord, God, and Lord' he refers to the three persons of that Godhead, as if one was saying that God, His Word and His Spirit were one eternal God. Job also said, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the name of the Lord.'[3] In blessing the single name of the Lord, Job used it three times, in reference to one in three."

And our King said to me: "If He is one, He is not three; and if He is three, He is not one; what is this contradiction?"—And I answered: "The sun is also one, O our victorious King, in its spheric globe, its light and its heat, and the very same sun is also three, one sun in three powers. In the same way the soul has the powers of reason and intelligence, and the very same soul is one in one thing and three in another thing. In the same way also a piece of three gold denarii, is called one and three, one in its gold that is to say in its nature, and three in its persons that is to say in the number of denarii. The fact that the above objects are one does not contradict and annul the other fact—that they are also three, and the fact that they are three does not contradict and annul the fact that they are also one.

"In the very same way the fact that God is one does not annul the other fact that He is in three persons, and the fact that He is in three persons does not annul the other fact that He is one God. Man is a being which is living, rational and mortal, and he is one and three, one in being one man and three in being living, rational and mortal, and this idea gives rise to three notions not contradictory but rather confirmatory to one another. By the fact that man is one, he is by necessity living, rational and mortal, and by the fact that he is living, rational and mortal, he is by necessity one man. This applies also to God in whom the fact of His being three does not annul the other fact that He is one and *vice versa*, but these two facts confirm and corroborate each other. If He is one God, He is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and if He is the Father, the Son, and the Holy

[1] Matt. xxviii. 19. [2] Deut. vi. 4. [3] Job. i. 21.

Spirit, He is one God, because the eternal nature of God consists in Fatherhood, Filiation, and Procession, and in the three of them He is one God, and in being one God He is the three of them."

And our King said to me: "Do you say that the nature of God is composed of the above three, as the human nature is composed of its being living, rational, and mortal, and as the sun is composed of light, heat, and sphericity, and as the soul is composed of reason and intelligence, and as gold is composed of height, depth, and width?"—And I denied this and said: "No, this is not so."—And our King said to me: "Why then do you wish to demonstrate with bodily demonstrations One who has no body and is not composed?"—And I answered his Majesty: "Because there is no other God like Him, from whom I might draw a demonstration as to what is a being that has no beginning and no end."—And our King said to me: "It is never allowed to draw a demonstration from the creatures concerning the Creator."—And I said to Him: "We will then be in complete ignorance of God, O King of Kings."

And our King said: "Why?"—And I answered: "Because all that we say about God is deducted from natural things that we have with us; as such are the adjectives: King of all Kings, Lord of all Lords, Mighty, Powerful, Omnipotent, Light, Wisdom, and Judge. We call God by these and similar adjectives from things that are with us, and it is from them that we take our demonstration concerning God. If we remove Him from such demonstrations and do not speak of Him through them, with what and through what could we figure in our mind Him who is higher than all image and likeness?"

And our victorious King said to me: "We call God by these names, not because we understand Him to resemble things that we have with us, but in order to show that He is far above them, without comparison. In this way, we do not attribute to God things that are with us, we rather ascribe to ourselves things that are His, with great mercy from Him and great imperfection from us. Words such as: kingdom, life, power, greatness, honour, wisdom, sight, knowledge, and justice, etc., belong truly, naturally and eternally to God, and they only belong to us in an unnatural, imperfect, and temporal way. With God they have not begun and they will not end, but with us children of men they began and they will end."

And I replied to his Majesty: "All that your Majesty said on

this subject, O our victorious King, has been said with perfect wisdom and great knowledge; this is especially true of what you have just now said. It was not indeed with the intention of lowering God to a comparison with His creatures, that from the latter I drew a comparison concerning Him who, in reality, has no comparison with the created beings at all. I made use of such similes solely for the purpose of uplifting my mind from the created things to God. All the things that we have with us compare very imperfectly with the things of God. Even in saying of God that He is one, we introduce in our mind division concerning Him, because when we say for instance one man, one angel, one denarius, one pearl, we immediately think of a division that singles out and separates one denarius from many denarii, one pearl from many pearls, one angel from many angels, and one man from many men.

"A man would not be counting rightly but promiscuously if He were to say: one man and two angels, one horse and two asses, one denarius and two pence, one pearl and two emeralds. Every entity is counted with the entities of its own species, and we say: one, two, or three men; one, two, or three angels; one, two, or three denarii; one, two, or three pearls, as the case may be. With all these calculations in saying one we introduce, as I said, the element of division, but in speaking of God we cannot do the same thing, because there are no other entities of the same species as Himself which would introduce division in Him in the same sense as in our saying: one angel or one man. He is one, single and unique in His nature. Likewise when we say three we do not think of bodies or numbers, and when we say: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we do not say it in a way that implies division, separation, or promiscuity, but we think of it as something high above us in a divine, incomprehensible, and indescribable way.

"Our fathers and our children were born from marital union and intercourse, and their fatherhood and filiation have a beginning and an end. Further, a father was a son before becoming a father, and all relationships are liable to natural dissolution and cessation. As to Fatherhood, Filiation, and Procession in God they are not in a way similar to those of our humanity, but in a divine way that mind cannot comprehend. They do not arise from any intercourse between them, nor are they from time or in the time but eternally without beginning and without end. Since the above three attributes are of the nature

of God, and the nature of God has no beginning and no end, they also are without a beginning and without an end. And since He who is without a beginning and without an end is also unchangeable, that Fatherhood, therefore, that Filiation and that Procession are immutable and will remain without any modification. The things that are with us give but an imperfect comparison with the things that are above, because things that are God's are above comparison and likeness, as we have already demonstrated."

And our victorious King said: "The mind of rational beings will not agree to speak of God who is eternally one in Himself in terms of Trinity."—And I answered: "Since the mind of the rational beings is created, and no created being can comprehend God, you have rightly affirmed, O King of Kings, that the mind of the rational beings will not agree to speak of one God in terms of Trinity. The mind, however, of the rational beings can only extend to the acts of God, and even then in an imperfect and partial manner; as to the nature of God we learn things that belong to it not so much from our rational mind as from the Books of Revelation, i.e. from what God Himself has revealed and taught about Himself through His Word and Spirit:

"The Word of God said, 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father,'[1] and, 'The Spirit searcheth all things even the deep things of God.'[2] No one knows what there is in man except man's own spirit that is in him, so also no one knows what is in God except the Spirit of God. The Word and the Spirit of God, being eternally from His own nature—as heat and light from the sun, and as reason[3] and mind from the soul—alone see and know the Divine nature, and it is they who have revealed and taught us in the sacred Books that God is one and three, as I have already shown in my above words from the Torah, the Prophets, the Gospel, and the Ḳur'ān according to what I have learned from those who are versed in the knowledge of your Book.

"Were it not for the fact that His Word and His Spirit were eternally from His own nature God would not have spoken of Himself in the Torah, as, '*Our* image and *Our* likeness;'[4] and 'Behold

[1] John *passim*. [2] 1 Cor. ii. 10.
[3] Here also the same Syriac word *millṯha* means "word" and "reason."
[4] Gen. i. 26.

the man is become as one of *us*;'[1] and 'Let us go down and there confound their language;'[2] and the Ḳur'ān would not have said, 'And we sent to her *our* Spirit;'[3] and 'We breathed into her from *our* Spirit;'[4] and '*We* did,' '*We* said,' and so on. By such expressions (The Ḳur'ān) refers to God and His Word and His Spirit as we have said above. Has not the mind of the rational beings, O our victorious Sovereign, to follow the words of God rather than its own fanciful conceptions? The inspired Books are surely right, and since we find in them that one and the same prophet speaks of God as one and as three, we are compelled by the nature of the subject to believe it."

And our powerful Sovereign said to me: "How does the nature of the subject compel us to believe it?"—And I answered: "Because my Sovereign and my King granted full freedom to his obedient servant to speak before him, may I further implore your Majesty to be willing that I ask more questions?" And our King said: "Ask anything you want."—And I then said: "Is not God a simple and uncircumscribed Spirit?"—And our King said "Yes."—And I asked his Majesty: "Does He perceive in an uncircumscribed way with all His being, or does He perceive like us with one part only and not with another?"—And our King answered: "He perceives with all its nature without any circumscription."—And I asked: "Was there any other thing with Him from eternity, or not?"—And our King answered: "Surely not."—And I asked: "Does not a perceiver perceive a perceived object?" And our King answered: "Yes."

And I then asked: "If God is a perceiver and knower from the beginning and from eternity, a perceiver and a knower perceives and knows a perceived and known object, and because there was no created thing that was eternally with God—since He created afterwards when He wished—in case there was no other being with Him, whom He might perceive and know eternally, how could He be called a perceiver and a knower in a Divine and eternal sense, and before the creation of the world?"

And our victorious King answered: "What you have said is true.

[1] Gen. iii. 22. [2] Gen. xi. 7.
[3] Ḳur'ān xix. 17. (Here also read *lwāthah* in fem.)
[4] Ḳur'ān xxi. 91 (Here also read *bah* in fem.)

It is indeed necessary that a perceiver should perceive a perceived object, and the knower a known one, but it is possible to say that He perceived and knew His own self."—And I asked: "If He is all a perceiver without any circumscription, so that He does not perceive and know with one part and is perceived and known with another part, how can a perceiver of this kind perceive Himself? The eye of man is the perceiver and it perceives the other objects, but it can never perceive its own self except with another eye like itself, because the sight of the eye is unable to perceive itself. If the sight of the composed eye cannot be divided into parts so that a part of it perceives itself, and the other part is perceived by itself, how can we think of God who is a Spirit without body, without division, and without parts that He perceives Himself and is perceived by Himself?"

And our intelligent Sovereign asked: "Which of the two do you admit: does God perceive Himself or not?"—And I answered: "Yes; He perceives and knows Himself with a sight that has no limits and a knowledge that has no bounds."—And our King asked: "How is it that your argumentation and reasoning concerning divisions, separations, and partitions do not rebound against you?"—And I replied to him: "God perceives and knows Himself through His Word and the Spirit that proceeds from Him. The Word and the Spirit are a clear mirror of the Father, a mirror that is not foreign to Him but of the same essence and nature as Himself, without any limits and bounds. He was perceiving His Word, His Spirit, and His creatures, divinely, eternally, and before the worlds, with this difference, however, that He was perceiving and knowing His Word and His Spirit as His nature, His very nature, and He was eternally perceiving and knowing His creatures not as His nature but as His creatures. He was perceiving and knowing His Word and His Spirit as existing divinely and eternally, and His creatures not as existing then but as going to exist in the future. Through His Word and His Spirit He perceives and knows the beauty, the splendour, and the infiniteness of His own nature, and through His creatures the beauty of His wisdom, of His power, and of His goodness, now, before now, and before all times, movements, and beginnings."

And our King asked philosophically: "Are they parts of one another, and placed at a distance from one another, so that one part

perceives and the other is perceived?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "No, not so, O King of Kings. They are not parts of one another, because a simple being has no parts and no composition; nor are they placed at a distance one from the other, because the infiniteness of God, of His Word, and of His Spirit is one. The Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Spirit, without any break, distance, and confusion of any kind, as the soul is in the reason and the reason in the mind, without break and confusion; and as the spheric globe of the sun is in its light, and this light in its heat; and as the colour, scent, and taste are in the apple, without any break, confusion, and promiscuity. All figures, comparisons, and images, are far below that adorable and ineffable nature of God, so there is fear that we may be falsely held to believe in the plurality of Godhead."

And our powerful and wise King said: "There is such a fear indeed."—And I said: "O King of Kings, this would arise in case we diminished something from Godhead, just as well as if we added something to it. As it is a blasphemy to add something to Godhead, it is also a blasphemy to diminish something from it in our belief, and as it is not allowed to add anything to the sun or to the pearl, so it is not allowed to diminish anything from them. He who divests God of His Word and His Spirit, resembles the one who would divest the sun of its light and its heat, and the soul of its reason and its mind, and the pearl of its beauty and its lustre. As it is impossible to conceive a pearl without lustre, or a sun without light, or a soul without reason and mind, so it is never possible that God should be without Word and Spirit. If, therefore, Word and Spirit are God's by nature, and God is eternal, it follows that the Word and the Spirit of God are also eternal. They are not added to Him from outside that one might think of the plurality of Godhead, but it is of the essence of God to possess both Word and Spirit."

And our victorious King said: "In your previous words you said that the perceiver perceives the one that is perceived, and the one that is perceived perceives also the one that perceives; and that if they be near a thing they are all there at the same time, because the Word and the Spirit of God are the object that is perceived by God and are eternal like the perceiver; and if there is no perceiver there is no perceived object either, and if there is no perceived object there is no perceiver. Did you say these things, or not?"—And I answered:

"I did say them, O our victorious King."—And the King of Kings said: "But it is possible that God was perceiving His creatures before He created them."—And I said: "O our victorious King, we cannot think or say otherwise. God perceived and knew eternally His creatures, before He brought them into being."

And our King said: "The nature of the subject will not compel us, therefore, to believe that if the perceiver is eternal, the perceived should also be eternal, because the fact that God is an eternal perceiver of the creature does not carry with it the necessity that the creature which is perceived by Him is also eternal, and the fact that the creature is perceived does not carry with it the necessity that He also is the perceived object like it. As such a necessity as that you were mentioning in the case of the creature has been vitiated, so also is the case with regard to the Word and the Spirit."

And I said: "O our King, it is not the same kind of perception that affects the creature on the one hand, and the Word and the Spirit on the other. This may be known and demonstrated as follows: it is true that God was perceiving the creature eternally, but the creature is not infinite, and God is infinite, the creature has a limited perceptibility, and the perception of God has no limits. Further, the nature of God having no limits, His knowledge also has no limits, as the divine David says, 'His understanding is infinite.'[1] If God, therefore, has any perception, and if He is infinite and unlimited, that perception must by necessity be infinite and unlimited, and if His perception is infinite, it perceives a perceived object that is likewise infinite; but the perceived object that is infinite being only the nature of God, it follows that His Word and His Spirit are from His nature, in the same way as the word and the spirit of a man are from human nature. It is, therefore, obvious that if God is an infinite perceiver, the Word and the Spirit that are from Him are also infinite.

"God knows His Word and His Spirit in an infinite way as His Knowledge and His perception are infinite, but He perceives and knows His creature not in the same infinite way as are His perception and His Knowledge, but in a finite way according to the limits of the creature and of the human nature. He perceived His creature only

[1] Ps. cxlvii. 5.

through His prescience, and not as a substance that is of the same nature as Himself, and, on the contrary, He perceived the Word and the Spirit not through His prescience but as a substance that is of the same nature as Himself. This is the reason why the prophet David said, 'For ever, art thou O Lord, and Thy Word is settled in heaven;'[1] and likewise the prophet Isaiah, 'The grass withereth and the flower fadeth, but the Word of our Lord shall stand forever,'[2] In this passage Isaiah counts all the world as grass and flower, and the Word and the Spirit of God as something imperishable, immortal, and eternal.

"If, therefore, God is an infinite perceiver, the object that is perceived by Him has also to be infinite, in order that His perception of the perceived should not be incomplete in places. And who is this infinite-perceived except the Word and the Spirit of God? God indeed was not without perception and a perceived object of the same nature as Himself till He brought His creature into being, but He possessed along with His eternal perception and eternal knowledge a perceived object that was eternal and a known object that was also eternal. It is not permissible to say of God that He was not a perceiver and a knower, till the time in which He created. And if God is eternally a perceiver and a knower, and if a perceiver of the perceived and a knower of the known is truly a perceiver and a knower, and if His Word and His Spirit were perceived by Him divinely and eternally, it follows that these same Word and Spirit were eternally with Him. As to His creatures, He created them afterwards, when He wished, by means of His Word and His Spirit."

And our King said to me: "O Catholicos, if this is your religion and that of the Christians, I will say this, that the Word and the Spirit are also creatures of God, and there is no one who is uncreated except one God."—And I replied: "If the Word and the Spirit are also creatures of God like the rest, by means of whom did God create the heaven and the earth and all that they contain? The Books teach us that He created the world by means of His Word and His Spirit—by means of whom did He then create this Word and this Spirit? If He created them by means of another word and another spirit, the same conclusion would also be applied to them: will they

[1] Ps. cxix. 89 (Peshitta). [2] Is. xl. 8.

be created or uncreated ? If uncreated, the religion of the Catholicos and of the Christians is vindicated ; and if created, by means of whom did God create them ? And this process of gibberish argumentation will go on indefinitely until we stop at that Word and that Spirit hidden eternally in God, by means of whom we assert that the worlds were created."

And the King said : "You appear to believe in three heads, O Catholicos."—And I said : "This is certainly not so, O our victorious King. I believe in one head, the eternal God the Father, from whom the Word shone and the Spirit radiated eternally, together, and before all times, the former by way of filiation and the latter by way of procession, not in a bodily but in a divine way that befits God. This is the reason why they are not three separate Gods. The Word and the Spirit are eternally from the single nature of God, who is not one person divested of word and spirit as the weakness of the Jewish belief has it. He shines and emits rays eternally with the light of His Word and the radiation of His Spirit, and He is one head with His Word and His Spirit. I do not believe in God as stripped of His Word and Spirit, in the case of the former without mind[1] and reason, and in the case of the latter without spirit and life. It is only the idolators who believe in false gods or idols who have neither reason nor life."

And our victorious King said : "It seems to me that you believe in a vacuous God, since you believe that He has[2] a child."—And I answered : "O King, I do not believe that God is either vacuous or solid, because both these adjectives denote bodies. If vacuity and solidity belong to bodies, and God is a Spirit without a body, neither of the two qualifications can be ascribed to Him."—And the King said : "What then do you believe that God is if He is neither vacuous nor solid ?"—And I replied to His Majesty : "God is a Spirit and an incorporeal light, from whom shine and radiate eternally and divinely His Word and His Spirit. The soul begets the mind and causes reason to proceed from it, and the fire begets the light and

[1] The author is constantly playing on the Syriac word *millṭha* which means both "word" and "reason."

[2] Cod. *is ;* the reading *ith laih* seems, however, to be better than *ithauh*. The Caliph's objection bears on the fact that since God begets, something goes out of Him and He is consequently vacuous.

causes heat to proceed from its nature, and we do not say that either the soul or fire are hollow or solid. So also is the case with regard to God, about Whom we never say that He is vacuous or solid when He makes His Word shine and His Spirit radiate from His essence eternally."

And our victorious King said: "What is the difference in God between shining and radiating?"—And I replied: "There is the same difference between shining and radiating in God as that found in the illustration furnished by the fire and the apple: the fire begets the light and causes heat to proceed from it, and the apple begets the scent and causes the taste and savour to proceed from it. Although both the fire and the apple give rise, the former to light and heat, and the latter to scent and savour, yet they do not do it in the same manner and with an identical effect on the one and the same sense of our body. We receive the heat of the fire with the sense of feeling, the light with the eyes, the scent of the apple with the sense of smell, and the sweetness of its savour with the palate. From this it becomes clear that the mode of filiation is different from that of procession. This is as far as one can go from bodily comparisons and similes to the realities and to God."

And the King said: "You will not go very far with God in your bodily comparisons and similes."—And I said: "O King, because I am a bodily man I made use of bodily metaphors, and not of those that are without any body and any composition. Because I am a bodily man, and not a spiritual being, I make use of bodily comparisons in speaking of God. How could I or any other human being speak of God as He is with a tongue of flesh, with lips fashioned of mud, and with a soul and mind closely united to a body? This is far beyond the power of men and angels to do. God Himself speaks with the prophets about Himself not as He is, because they cannot know and hear about Him as He is, but simply in the way that fits in with their own nature, a way they are able to understand. In His revelations to the ancient prophets sometimes He revealed Himself as man, sometimes as fire, sometimes as wind, and some other times in some other ways and similitudes.

"The divine David said, 'He then spoke in visions to His holy ones;'[1] and the Prophet Hosea said on behalf of God, 'I have

[1] Ps. lxxxix. 19 (Peshiṭta).

multiplied my visions and used similitudes by the ministry of the prophets;'[1] and one of the Apostles of Christ said, 'God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto our fathers by the prophets.'[2] If God appeared and spake to the ancient in bodily similitudes and symbols, we with stronger reason find ourselves completely unable to speak of God and to understand anything concerning Him except through bodily similitudes and metaphors. I shall here make bold and assert that I hope I shall not deserve any blame from your Majesty if I say that you are in the earth the representative of God for the earthly people; now God maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth His rain on the just and the unjust.[3] Your Majesty also in the similitude of God will make us worthy of forgiveness if in the fact of being earthly beings we speak of God in an earthly way and not in a spiritual way like spiritual beings."

And our victorious King said: "You are right in what you said before and say now on the subject that God is above all the thoughts and minds of created beings, and that all the thoughts and minds of created beings are lower not only than God Himself but also His work. The fact, however, that you put the servant and the Lord on the same footing you make the creator equal with the created, and in this you fall into error and falsehood."

And I replied: "O my Sovereign, that the Word and the Spirit of God should be called servants and created I considered and consider not far from unbelief. If the Word and the Spirit are believed to be from God, and God is conceived to be a Lord and not a servant, His Word and Spirit are also, by inference, lords and not servants. It is one and the same freedom that belongs to God and to His Word and Spirit, and they are called Word and Spirit of God not in an unreal, but in a true, sense. The kingdom which my victorious Sovereign possesses is the same as that held by his word and his spirit, so that no one separates his word and his spirit from his kingdom, and he shines in the diadem of kingdom together with his word and his spirit in a way that they are not three Kings, and in a way that he does not shine in the diadem of kingdom apart from his word and his spirit.

[1] Hos. xii. 10. [2] Heb. i. 1. [3] Matt. v. 45.

"If it please your Majesty, O my powerful Sovereign, I will also say this: the splendour and the glory of the kingdom shine in one and the same way in the Commander of the Faithful[1] and in his sons Mūsa and Hārūn,[2] and in spite of the fact that kingdom and lordship in them are one, their personalities are different. For this reason no one would venture to consider, without the splendour of kingdom, not only the Commander of the Faithful but also the beautiful flowers and majestic blossoms that budded and blossomed out of him; indeed the three of them blossom in an identical kingdom, and this one and the same kingdom shines and radiates in each one of them, so that no one dares to ascribe servitude to any of them. In a small and partial way the same light of kingdom, lordship, and divinity shines and radiates eternally in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, or if one prefers to put it, in God, His Word, and His Spirit, and no one is allowed to give to any of them the name of servant. If the Word and the Spirit are servants of God, while they are from God Himself, the logical conclusion to be drawn I leave to a tongue other than mine to utter."

And the King said: "It is very easy for your tongue, O Catholicos, to prove the existence of that Lord and God, and the existence also of that consubstantial servant, and to draw conclusions sometimes or to abstain from them some other times, but the minds and the will of rational beings are induced to follow not your mind which is visible in your conclusions, but the law of nature and the inspired Books."

And I replied: "O our victorious King, I have proved my words that I have uttered in the first day and to-day both from nature and from Book. So far as arguments from nature are concerned, I argued, confirmed, and corroborated my words sometimes from the soul with its mind and its reason; sometimes from the fire with its light and its heat; sometimes from the apple with its scent and its savour; and some other times from your Majesty and from the rational and royal flowers that grew from it: Mūsa and Hārūn, the sons of your Majesty. As to the inspired Books, I proved the object under

[1] The Caliph Mahdi himself.

[2] Hārūn is of course the future and famous Hārūn ar-Rashīd. About Mūsa, the other son of the Caliph Mahdi, see Ṭabari, *Annales*, iii. 1, pp. 452-458.

discussion sometimes from Moses, sometimes from David, and some other times I appealed to the Ḳur'ān, as a witness to prove my statement.

"God said to the prophet David and caused him further to prophesy in the following manner concerning His Word and His Spirit, 'I have set up my King on my holy hill of Zion.'[1] Before this He had called Him His Christ, 'Against the Lord and against His Christ.'[2] If the Christ of God is a King, it follows that the Christ is not a servant but a King. Afterwards David called Him twice Son, 'Thou art my Son and this day I have begotten Thee,'[3] and, 'Kiss the Son lest the Lord be angry and ye perish from His way.'[4] If the Christ, therefore, is a Son, as God called Him through the prophet David, and if no son is a servant, it follows, O King, that the Christ is not a servant. In another passage the same prophet David called the Christ 'Lord,' 'Son,' and 'A priest for ever,' because he said, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand.'[5] And in order to show that Christ is of the same nature and power as God, he said on behalf of the Father as follows, 'In the beauties of holiness from the womb I have begotten Thee from the beginning.'[6] God, therefore, called Christ 'a Lord' through the prophet David, and since no true Lord is a servant, it follows that Christ is not a servant.[7]

"Further, Christ has been called through David one 'begotten of God' both 'from eternity' and 'In the beauties of holiness from the womb.' Since no one begotten of God is a servant, the Christ, therefore, O King of Kings, is not a servant and created, but He is uncreated and a Lord. God said also through the prophet Isaiah to Ahaz, King of Israel, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and His name shall be called—not a servant—but Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.'[8] The same Isaiah said, 'For unto

[1] Ps. ii. 6. [2] Ps. ii. 2. [3] Ps. ii. 7.
[4] Ps. ii. 12. [5] Ps. cx. 1 and 4. [6] Ps. cx. 3 (Peshitta).

[7] The Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, argues that the term "lord" in Syriac *māra* is applied sometimes in the Bible to men, and therefore in Deut. xxxiii. 23; Is. xl. 10-11 and lxiii. 14-16 the word designates Muḥammad. See *Kitāb ad-Dīn*, pp. 87, 100, and 116 of my edition. The idea that the word *māra*, "Lord," refers sometimes in the Bible to men is of course taken by Ṭabari from Syrian commentators whom he knew perfectly.

[8] Is. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23.

us a Child—and not a servant—is born, and unto us a Son—not a servant and a created being—is given, and His name has been called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God of the Worlds.'[1] If the Christ, therefore, is the Son of God, this Son of God, as God Himself spoke through the prophet Isaiah, is the 'mighty God of the worlds,' and not a servant in subjection, but a Lord and a Prince. It follows, O our victorious King, that the Christ is surely a Lord and a Prince, and not a servant in subjection.

"As your Majesty would wax angry if your children were called servants, so also God will be wrathful if anybody called His Word and His Spirit servants. As the honour and dishonour of the children of your Majesty redound on you, so also and in a higher degree the honour and dishonour of God's Word and Spirit redound on Him. It is for this reason that Christ said in the Gospel, 'He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent Him,'[2] and, 'He who honoureth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God shall abide on him.'[3]

"The above is written in the Gospel. I heard also that it is written in the Ḳur'ān that Christ is the Word and the Spirit of God,[4] and not a servant. If Christ is the Word and the Spirit of God, as the Ḳur'ān testifies, He is not a servant but a Lord, because the Word and the Spirit of God are Lords. It is by this method, O our God-loving King, based on the law of nature and on divinely inspired words, and not on purely human argumentation, word, and thought, that I both in the present and in the first conversation have demonstrated the lordship and the sonship of Christ, and the Divine Trinity."[5]

Our victorious King said: "Has not the Christ been called also several times a servant by the prophets?"—And I said: "I am aware, O my Sovereign, of the fact that the Christ has also been called a servant, but that this appellation does not imply a real servitude is borne out by the illustration that may be taken from the status of Hārūn, the blossom and the flower of your Majesty. He is now

[1] Is. ix. 6. [2] John v. 23.
[3] John iii. 36, where "believeth" for "honoureth."
[4] Ḳur'ān, iv. 169. Cf. iii. 40.
[5] Some of the above Biblical verses are quoted also by the Christian apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, pp. 146-148.

called by everybody 'Heir Presumptive,'[1] but after your long reign, he will be proclaimed King and Sovereign by all. He served his military service through the mission entrusted to him by your Majesty to repair to Constantinople against the rebellious and tyrannical Byzantines.[2] Through this service and mission he will not lose[3] his royal sonship and his freedom, nor his princely honour and glory, and acquire the simple name of servitude and subjection, like any other individual. So also is the case with the Christ, the Son of the heavenly King. He fulfilled the will of His Father in His coming on His military mission to mankind, and in His victory over sin, death, and Satan. He did not by this act lose His royal Sonship, and did not become a stranger to Divinity, Lordship, and Kingdom, nor did He put on the dishonour of servitude and subjection like any other individual.

"Further, the prophets called Him not by what He was, but by what He was believed by the Jews to be. In one place the prophets called Him, according to the belief of the Jews, 'A Servant, a Rejected one, one without form or comeliness, a Stricken one, a Smitten one, a man of many sorrows.'[4] In another place, however, it has been said of Him that, 'He is the fairest of the children of men,[5] the Mighty God of the worlds, the Father of the future world, the Messenger of the Great Counsel of God, Prince of Peace, a Son, and a Child,[6] as we demonstrated in our former replies. The last adjectives refer to His nature, and He has been spoken of through the first adjectives on account of the mission that He performed to His father for the salvation of all, and in compliance with the belief of the Jews who only looked at Him in His humanity, and were totally incapable of considering Him in the nature of His divinity that clothed itself completely with humanity.

[1] Arab. *walī al-'ahd*.

[2] This expedition of Hārūn, son of the Caliph Mahdi, against the Byzantines led by Nicetas and governed by the Empress Irene and Leo is told at some length on the Muslim side by Tabari under the year A.H. 165 (A.D. 781), *Annales*, iii. i. pp. 503-505. Cf. also the historians, Ibn Khaldūn, iii. p. 213, and Muḳaddasi, p. 150, etc.

[3] It appears that this second conversation between Timothy and the Caliph took place in A.D. 781, while Hārūn, the Caliph's son, had not returned yet from his expedition against the Byzantines. The sentences used in the text do not seem to yield to another interpretation.

[4] Is. liii. 2-4. [5] Ps. xlv. 2. [6] Is. ix. 6.

"Some ignorant Byzantines who know nothing of the kingship and sonship of your son Hārūn, may consider him and call him a simple soldier and not a Prince and a King, but those who know him with certainty will not call him a simple soldier, but will consider him and call him King and Prince. In this way the prophets considered the Christ our Lord as God, King, and Son, but the unbelieving Jews believed Him to be a servant and a mere man under subjection. He has indeed been called not only a servant, on account of His service, but also a stone, a door, the way, and a lamb.[1] He was called a stone, not because He was a stone by nature, but because of the truth of His teaching; and a door, because it is through Him that we entered into the knowledge of God: and the way, because it is He who in His person opened to us the way of immortality; and a lamb, because He was immolated for the life of the world. In this same way He was called also a servant, not because He was a servant by nature, but on account of the service which He performed for our salvation, and on account of the belief of the Jews.

"I heard also that it is written in your Book that the Christ was sent not as a servant, but as a son, 'I swear by this mountain and by the begetter and His Child.'[2] A child is like his father, whether the latter be a servant or a freeman, and if it is written, 'The Christ doth surely not disdain to be a servant of God,'[3] it is also written that God doth not disdain to be a Father to Christ because He said through the prophet about the Christ, 'He will be to Me a Son[4]—and not a servant'—and, also 'I will make Him a first-born—not a servant—and will raise Him up above the Kings of the earth.'[5] If Christ has been raised by God above the Kings of the earth, He who is above the Kings cannot be a servant, Christ is, therefore, O King, not a servant and one under

[1] All these adjectives are known to the Muslim apologist Ibn Rabban. *Kitāb-ad-Dīn*, p. 83 of my edition.

[2] Ḳur'ān xc. 1-3, is interpreted by late Muslim commentators to mean: 'I do not swear by the Lord of the land . . . nor by the begetter and what He begets.' In the early Islam the first word was evidently read as *la-uḳsimu*, 'I shall swear' (with an affirmation), instead of *lā-uḳsimu*, 'I shall not swear' (with a negation). I believe that the ancient reading and interpretation preserved in the present apology are more in harmony with the Ḳur'ānic text.

[3] Ḳur'ān iv. 170. The author is using the Arabic word *istankafa* as in the Ḳur'ān.

[4] 2 Sam. vii. 14: Heb. i. 5. [5] Ps. lxxxix. 27.

subjection, but a King of Kings and a Lord. It is not possible that a servant should be above angels and kings.

"God said also about the Christ through the same prophet David, 'His name shall endure for ever, and His name is before the sun. All men shall be blessed by Him, and all shall glorify Him.'[1] How can the name of a servant endure for ever, and how can the name of a servant be before the sun and other creatures, and how can all nations be blessed by a servant, and how can all nations glorify a servant? God said to His Word and His Spirit, 'Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the nations for Thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession. Thou shalt shepherd them with a rod of iron. Be wise now, O ye Kings, and be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and hold to Him with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye stray from His way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.'[2] If all the nations and the uttermost parts of the earth are the inheritance and the possession of the Christ, and if he who has under his authority all the nations and the uttermost parts of the earth is not a servant, the Christ, therefore, O our victorious Sovereign, is not a servant, but a Lord and Master; and if the Kings and the judges of the earth have been ordered by God to serve the Christ with fear and hold to Him with trembling, it is impossible that this same Christ who is served, held to, and kissed by the Kings and judges of the earth should be a servant.

"It follows, O our victorious Sovereign, that the Christ is a King of Kings, since Kings worshipped and worship Him; and a Lord and judge of judges, since judges served and serve Him with fear. If He were a servant, what kind of a wrath and destruction could He bring on the unbelievers, and what kind of a blessing could He bestow on those who put their trust in Him? That He is a Lord over all and a Master over all, He testifies about Himself, and His testimony is true. Indeed He said to His disciples when He was about to ascend to heaven, and mount on the Cherubim and fly on the spiritual wings of the Seraphim, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.'[3] If Christ has been given all the power of heaven and earth, He who

[1] Ps. lxxii. 17 (Peshitta). See above p. 56 how Ibn Rabban, the Muslim apologist, refers this verse to Muhammad.

[2] Ps. ii. 8-12 (Peshitta). [3] Matt xxviii. 18.

is constituted in this way in heaven and in earth is God over all, and Christ, therefore, is God over all. If He is not a true God, how can He have power in heaven and in earth; and if He has power in heaven and in earth, how can He not be true God? Indeed He has power in heaven and in earth because He is God, since any one who has power in heaven and in earth is God.

"The Archangel Gabriel testified to this when he announced His conception to the always virgin Mary, 'And He shall reign over the house of Jacob, and of His Kingdom there shall be no end.'[1] If the Christ reigns for ever, and if the one who reigns for ever there is no end to his kingdom, it follows, O our Sovereign, that Christ is a Lord and God over all. The prophet Daniel testified also to this in saying, 'I saw one like the son of men coming on the clouds of heaven, and they brought Him near before the Ancient of days, who gave Him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all nations should serve Him and worship Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom shall not pass away and be destroyed.'[2] If the kingdom of Christ shall not pass away and be destroyed, He is God over all, and Christ is, therefore, God over all, O our King: over the prophets and the angels.[3]

"If Christ has been called by the prophets God and Lord, and if it has been said by some people that God suffered and died in the flesh, it is evident that it is the human nature which the Word-God took from us that suffered and died, because in no Book, neither in the prophets nor in the Gospel, do we find that God Himself died in the flesh, but we do find in all of them that the Son and Jesus Christ died in the flesh. The expression that God suffered and died in the flesh is not right."

And our victorious King asked: "And who are those who say that God suffered and died in the flesh."—And I answered: "The Jacobites and Melchites say that God suffered and died in the flesh, as to us we not only do not assert that God suffered and died in our nature, but that He even removed the passibility of our human nature that He put on from Mary by His impassibility, and its mortality by His immortality, and He made it to resemble divinity, to the extent that a created being is capable of resembling his Creator. A created

[1] Luke i. 33. [2] Dan. vii. 13-14.
[3] About two words are here missing in the MS.

being cannot make himself resemble his Creator, but the Creator is able to bring His creature to His own resemblance. It is not the picture that makes the painter paint a picture in its own resemblance, but it is the painter that paints the picture to his own resemblance ; it is not the wood that works and fashions a carpenter in its resemblance, but it is the carpenter that fashions the wood in his resemblance. In this same way it is not the mortal and passible nature that renders God passible and mortal like itself, but it is by necessity God that renders the passible and mortal human nature impassible and immortal like Himself. On the one hand, this is what the Jacobites and Melchites say, and, on the other, this is what we say. It behoves your Majesty to decide who are those who believe rightly and those who believe wrongly."

And our victorious King said : "In this matter you believe more rightly than the others. Who dares to assert that God dies ? I think that even demons do not say such a thing. In what, however, you say concerning one Word and Son of God, all of you are wrong."— And I replied to his Majesty : "O our victorious King, in this world we are all of us as in a dark house in the middle of the night. If at night and in a dark house a precious pearl happens to fall in the midst of people, and all become aware of its existence, every one would strive to pick up the pearl, which will not fall to the lot of all but to the lot of one only, while one will get hold of the pearl itself, another one of a piece of glass, a third one of a stone or of a bit of earth, but every one will be happy and proud that he is the real possessor of the pearl. When, however, night and darkness disappear, and light and day arise, then every one of those men who had believed that they had the pearl, would extend and stretch his hand towards the light, which alone can show what every one has in hand. He who possesses the pearl will rejoice and be happy and pleased with it, while those who had in hand pieces of glass and bits of stone only will weep and be sad, and will sigh and shed tears.

"In this same way we children of men are in this perishable world as in darkness. The pearl of the true faith fell in the midst of all of us, and it is undoubtedly in the hand of one of us, while all of us believe that we possess the precious object. In the world to come, however, the darkness of mortality passes, and the fog of ignorance dissolves, since it is the true and the real light to which the fog of ignorance is

absolutely foreign. In it the possessors of the pearl will rejoice, be happy and pleased, and the possessors of mere pieces of stone will weep, sigh, and shed tears, as we said above."

And our victorious King said: "The possessors of the pearl are not known in this world, O Catholicos."—And I answered: "They are partially known, O our victorious King."—And our victorious and very wise King said: "What do you mean by partially known, and by what are they known as such?"—And I answered: "By good works, O our victorious King, and pious deeds, and by the wonders and miracles that God performs through those who possess the true faith. As the lustre of a pearl is somewhat visible even in the darkness of the night, so also the rays of the true faith shine to some extent even in the darkness and the fog of the present world. God indeed has not left the pure pearl of the faith completely without testimony and evidence, first in the prophets and then in the Gospel. He first confirmed the true faith in Him through Moses, once by means of the prodigies and miracles that He wrought in Egypt, and another time when He divided the waters of the Red Sea into two and allowed the Israelites to cross it safely, but drowned the Egyptians in its depths. He also split and divided the Jordan into two through Joshua, son of Nun, and allowed the Israelites to cross it without any harm to themselves, and tied the sun and the moon to their own places until the Jewish people were well avenged upon their enemies. He acted in the same way through the prophets who rose in different generations, viz.: through David, Elijah, and Elisha.

"Afterwards He confirmed the faith through Christ our Lord by the miracles and prodigies which He wrought for the help of the children of men. In this way the Disciples performed miracles greater even than those wrought by Christ. These signs, miracles, and prodigies wrought in the name of Jesus Christ are the bright rays and the shining lustre of the precious pearl of the faith, and it is by the brightness of such rays that the possessors of this pearl which is so full of lustre and so precious that it outweighs all the world in the balance, are known."

And our victorious King said: "We have hope in God that we are the possessors of this pearl, and that we hold it in our hands."—And I replied: "Amen, O King. But may God grant us that we too may share it with you, and rejoice in the shining and beaming

lustre of the pearl! God has placed the pearl of His faith before all of us like the shining rays of the sun, and every one who wishes can enjoy the light of the sun.

"We pray God, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, to preserve the crown of the kingdom and the throne of the Commander of the Faithful for multitudinous days and numerous years! May He also raise after him Mūsa and Hārūn and 'Ali[1] to the throne of his kingdom for ever and ever! May He subjugate before them and before their descendants after them all the barbarous nations, and may all the kings and governors of the world serve our Sovereign and his sons after him till the day in which the Kingdom of Heaven is revealed from heaven to earth!"

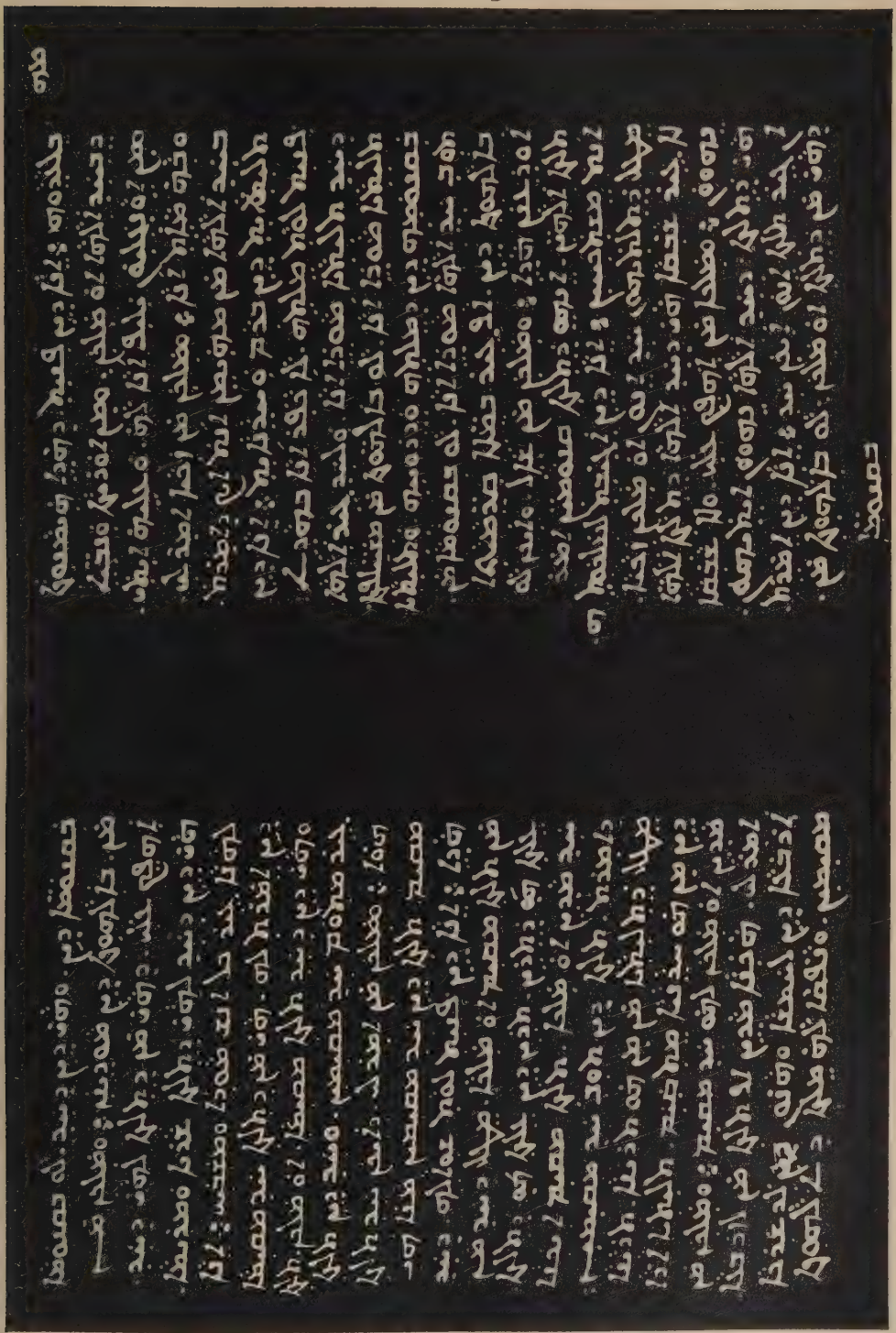
And our victorious King said: "Miracles have been and are sometimes performed even by unbelievers."—And I replied to his Majesty: "These, O our victorious King, are not miracles but deceptive similitudes of the demons, and are performed not by the prophets of God and by holy men, but by idolaters and wicked men. This is the reason why I said that good works and miracles are the lustre of the pearl of the faith. Indeed, Moses performed miracles in Egypt, and the sorcerers Jannes and Jambres performed them also there, but Moses performed them by the power of God, and the sorcerers through the deceptions of the demons. The power of God, however, prevailed, and that of the demons was defeated.

"In Rome also Simon Cephas and Simon Magus performed miracles, but the former performed them by the power of God, and the latter by the power of the demons, and for this reason Simon Cephas was honoured and Simon Magus was laughed at and despised by every one, and his deception was exposed before the eyes of all celestial and terrestrial beings."

At this our victorious King rose up and entered his audience chamber, and I left him and returned in peace to my patriarchal residence.

Here ends the controversy of the Patriarch Mar Timothy I. with Mahdi, the Caliph of the Muslims. May eternal praise be to God!

[1] A third son of Mahdi, nicknamed ibn Rīṭah. See Tabari, *Annales*, iii. 3, pp. 137, 501, 522, 1035. The Cod. has erroneously '*Alah*.



WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

By A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS.

By RENDEL HARRIS.

Fasc. 4.

The Lament of the Virgin and the Martyrdom of Pilate.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the present issue of the Woodbrooke Studies Dr. Mingana publishes two documents, which are associated together by the fact of a common Egyptian origin, and by their occurring side by side in the popular religious literature which was preserved in the Arabic language, as spoken by unlettered people, and recorded in the Syriac character, which combination of speech and script we call by the name of Garshūni. Of the popularity of this kind of story-telling and writing there can be no doubt ; the particular documents to which we refer from the Paris Library and the Mingana collection, though they bear internal evidence of Egyptian origin, have come from a much wider field ; they were found in Mesopotamia as well as on the Nile ; and although they are not of any great antiquity, as far as the actual copies go from which we take our texts, the argument for their wide popular diffusion is made stronger by the observation that they are comparatively modern products of the Oriental religious mind. They must have moved fast, when they are found to have moved so far. Nor does their modern dress preclude the supposition that they may contain fragments of early tradition embedded in their pages, for it is precisely in such popular stories, the Folk-Lore of the Christian religion, that we are accustomed to find survivals of the most primitive beliefs and opinions.

The two documents before us are concerned, the one with the spiritual history of Pontius Pilate, who is made over into an accepted and glorified saint, accepted in the Church on the earth and glorified in the Church in the heaven; the other with the sorrows of the Virgin, not this time at the cross, but rather at the empty tomb, where she has, as we shall see, exchanged personality with the Magdalene. We may call one of the documents by the title of *Pilatus beatus*; the other, by an adaptation of the conventional form, may pass as *Stabat Magdalena*. The author of the *Pilatus* is said to be no less a person than the great Gamaliel; the second is a sermon in which an earlier tale is retold, as the former was also adopted, not without much eloquence, by the Coptic Bishop of Behnesa, a place more familiar to modern scholars under its Greek name of Oxyrhyncus, and from the discovery of papyri associated therewith.

In the second volume of the *Patrologia Orientalis* there appeared a collection of Coptic Apocrypha under the editorship of E. Revillout, amongst which stood a number of Coptic fragments, of which Gamaliel was supposed to be the author, and whose contents were similar to those of the present document. In the same collection there was a fragment describing the appearance of Jesus to Mary at the sepulchre, where there is the confusion between Mary the Virgin and Mary Magdalene to which we have referred above. Clearly, then, the present documents are not entirely novel; they existed, in part, in Coptic fragments of a similar type with which they must be carefully compared, and in so far as the connection can be made out, it is with the *Coptic* Church and its literature that we are brought into contact.

Not altogether novel, nor altogether unexpected. For, if we turn to the *Apocryphal New Testament* of M. R. James, we shall find that, after making a summary of the Revillout fragments, he adds in conclusion (p. 152) the following sagacious and almost prophetical passage:—

> "It may be as well to register here the statement or warning that the Copts were tireless in producing embroideries upon the Biblical stories, and perhaps in rewriting older documents to suit their own taste. Only fresh discoveries of older texts can enable us to decide how much, if any, of the details which these later fragments supply, is really archaic."

If we add to the words 'discoveries of older texts' the expansion 'and more complete texts,' we shall have almost a summary of the documents before us. They are fresh discoveries of Coptic embroideries upon Biblical texts. We will compare presently the Revillout and other fragments (or as, following Dr. James we may say, 'frills' of Biblical tapestry) with the texts of our documents, but first we must deal with the general question of the canonisation of St. Pilate and his appearance in the Calendar.

Everyone who studies ancient liturgies to which calendars are properly prefixed or attached, is aware of the importance that belongs to the calendar in determining the local provenience of a document. If we find a Psalter, Book of Hours or Missal, the first thing we do is to examine the calendar ; if it records the sanctity of St. Theodulf, it is probably from the area of Orleans ; if the Three Kings, probably from Cologne ; if St. Denys, perhaps from Paris, and so on, with greater or less degrees of local definition. The obvious reason being that the saints have a preference for localities, or localities a preference for saints. It is not even necessary that the saint should have had a real existence. St. Lucy of Syracuse was probably invented to set off against the superior magic of St. Agnes of Catania, and both of them are probably apocryphal. Saints may be the badges of cities, the personifications of provinces. In this way they acquire political significance as well as local celebrity, though it may not always be easy to see what the political meaning is, for even great Churches cover their tracks, and as Jesus once pointed out, the religious world is divided into two sects, those who worship they know not what, and those who know what they worship. How many members of the Catholic Church can tell us why, in the invocation of the saints in the Mass, the names of the Apostles are followed, amongst other pious supplementary beings, by the names of Cosmas and Damian ? All we can say is that these are imported from the East where they were a pair of twin-brothers practising medicine without fee, a very thin disguise of the Heavenly Twins ; but why they came to Rome, who shall say ? That they should become the patron saints of the *Medici* is more obvious. In this case we may fail to detect political significance, even if we are sure it was there.

A more clear illustration may be found to the above generalised statement as to political significance accompanying local provenience

in the case of the Twins who presided over Soissons and the area around it. How many churches are devoted to the memory of Crispin and Crispinian whose very names betray brotherhood by assonance. Yet these names have recently been restored to the proposed new Anglican Calendar, not because they are twins (which Heaven forfend !) but because they helped the English to win the battle of Agincourt and so led Henry V. to say through Shakespeare that

> "Crispin-Crispian shall ne'er go by
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered."

The liturgical sanction is, therefore, political ; it is also literary, and we may say, if we please, that Shakespeare is in the calendar, if we know what we worship.

Now in returning to our theme, which is the canonisation of Pilate, we observe first of all that it is local. Pilate is a saint in the Coptic Church. He is, also, a saint in the Greek Church appearing in their lists along with his wife Procula. We shall find all about Procula in reading our document. She is, in fact, one of the links in the evidence for canonisation. She attained celestial rank herself, and drew her husband after her. We must try and review the evidence. The Copts, indeed, have gone so far in conferring rank upon him that they regard him as a citizen of their own country as well as one of the high-born kinsmen of heaven. He is even reviled in our story on account of his nationality, as Pilate the Egyptian. So we may say that Pilate is a saint of the Levant and Egypt, but not, as far as one can see, of the Syrian Churches or of the Latins. However, we have learnt something, for if this liturgical acceptance is not universal, it will be very probable that where he does attain calendar rank, it will be reached gradually, for it is almost impossible to believe that any people who were familiar with the Gospels, or able to supplement them from the pages of the historian Josephus, should have, at one step, moved from the conception of a villain to the contemplation of a saint. The process must have been gradual, and the embroidery of Dr. James was attached to the story bit by bit. We must study the matter more closely in order to find out how the Jewish hatred for a wicked and rapacious governor was changed into a pious memory of the Christians.

Meanwhile we find we are in a position of historical advantage, for whether good or bad, rapacious or compassionate, we are sure that Pilate existed. Not even Mr. J. M. Robertson can prove his history to be capable of reduction to myth. There is too much about him in Tacitus, and Philo, and Josephus, over and above what we find in the Gospels, to allow us to regard him, at all events, as the villain of the Gospel Tragedy. We may have our suspicions about Procula, whom we find conjoined in canonicity, as we may have our doubts about the canonisation itself; but Pilate is too firmly set in history to be capable of displacement.

In the earliest creed of the Church, so far as we can detect it in the dark backward and abysm of time, there are only three historical persons, Jesus, Mary, and Pilate; Jesus was born of Mary and suffered under Pontius Pilate. When we think of this historical reference, we may be perplexed at the terms employed. They are commonly rendered 'under Pontius Pilate' (ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου) which probably means '*in the days of* Pontius Pilate.' We should have expected the creed to say, 'In the time of Tiberius' (ἐπὶ Τιβερίου) and if the statement is to have chronological value for those who were taught to recite the creed, Pontius Pilate bulks larger than the Emperor. We should not *a priori* have expected this; it certainly suggests a very high antiquity for the creedal formula, even if one explains that it assumes the Gospel record. For as far as the Roman governors of provinces were concerned, they did not make calendars out of them; they passed away, and the peoples they pillaged were glad to forget them. Does one make a Sicilian calendar with Verres in it? But where is a Roman governor whom people over the wide area of the early Christian propaganda were glad to remember, and were instructed not to forget?

The same thing occurs in the curious reference to Pontius Pilate in the Pastoral Epistles. These epistles, whatever may be the ultimate decision as to their authorship, are of much later date than the Gospels; they were certainly written long after Pontius Pilate had come to a good or bad end. Yet we find St. Paul advising St. Timothy to remember that the confession of faith which he had himself made in the presence of many witnesses had a parallel in the good confession of Jesus Christ before Pontius Pilate. Here the same expression, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου is used, and we can hardly translate it as 'under

Pontius Pilate.' It looks almost creedal ; so we have again, whatever the date of the document may be, a historical remembrance of the Roman governor, who occupies so great a place in the Gospel.

The point which we have made may seem to be trivial ; it is not really so. If we were writing the history of that time as contemporaneous observers, we should have said 'in the days of Tiberius,' or if we were Galileans, 'in the time of Herod.' Here we pick up our clue and the interpretation of the dignity which Pilate attained ; he has attained it at the expense, not of Tiberius, but of Herod. Why has Herod no place in the creed, no record in the noble confession of Jesus ? One bad man is as good as another in this connection, and the Gospels make no secret of Herod's contempt for Jesus. Pilate and Herod were made friends by the Trial of Christ. How then do they occupy such diverse positions as the history of the Church develops ? Is not Herod just as distinguished a historical character as Pilate ?

In the *Acts of the Apostles* the two are associated in the proof from the second Psalm that the heathen who raged and the kings and rulers of the earth who gathered together against the Messiah were *Herod and Pilate and the Jews.* They are all in the same condemnation for their impotent rage. We have to explain how Pilate became detached from Herod and dissociated from the Jews, and how he became a Christian and was revered as a saint. Our document will help us to understand the process ; but we are not limited to our late Coptic tradition or its Greek correlative. We can actually trace the beginning of the process in the times which immediately followed the publication of the Gospels.

When the fragment of the lost *Gospel of Peter* was recovered from an Egyptian tomb in the year 1884, the opening sentences of the new document were significant :

> "But of the Jews no man washed his hands, neither did Herod nor any one of his judges ; and whereas they would not wash, Pilate rose up."

Here we have a definite removal of Pilate from the Jews and Herod ; and the writer goes on to make Herod and not Pilate pronounce the condemnation of Jesus. In Dr. James' introduction to the fragment, which he does not think of an earlier date than A.D. 150, he remarks that "another characteristic of (the Gospel) is its extremely anti-Judaic attitude. Blame is thrown on the Jews wherever possible,

and Pilate is whitewashed." It might be equally well said that blame was thrown upon Herod. So here we have, before the middle of the second century, the commencement of the process of canonisation, which, in its preliminary stage, may properly be called whitewashing. It is from the Gospel itself that the process starts, the uncanonical Gospel merely accentuating the statement of the canonical. Pilate washes his hands, and Pilate dissociates himself from Herod and from the Jews. That is the road to sanctity. The action of Pilate to which we refer became stereotyped in Christian teaching and in Christian art. The Catacombs record it, and, to come down to modern times, the great East window of Kings' College, Cambridge, represents Pilate as its central figure, washing his hands as the central act of his part in the sacred drama. So much of the tradition is probably continuous from the beginning ; for we find when we read the Apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* that special emphasis is laid on the fact that Pilate took water and washed his hands *before the sun.* This may have been derived from the Gospel of Peter, for there must have been a reference to Pilate's action before we can say that 'none of the Jews nor Herod' washed hands ; and anyone can verify for himself that in the *Acts of Pilate* the whitewash has been applied in a very liberal manner, and the anti-Judaic attitude is as pronounced, on Pilate's part, as possible. We even suspect that he quotes actual Christian *Testimonies against the Jews,* however unsuitable that may be for a Roman governor. The elongation between them has now gone far beyond what the Gospels assert.

If the point of departure for the canonisation of Pilate is the evangelical statement that he washed his hands in public, as if to disown the verdict which he was about to pronounce, a similar starting-point for his wife Procula will be found in the story of her dream, in consequence of which she sent a message of appeal to her husband not to countenance the attack which the Jews were making on Jesus. Here also the canonisation is a gradual evolution of legendary ideas. She obtains first a name, then a religion, and lastly a conversion : she is Procula, the Jewess ; she becomes, as in our book, Procula the Christian.

There is, however, this difference between her progress and that of Pilate. We cannot be as sure of the historicity of the incident which Matthew records, and of the involved personality, as we can be

sure of Pilate. If we are asked why we should blur a figure which Matthew has inserted on his canvas, the answer must be made that, without unduly disparaging Matthew and his work, we must admit that Procula is not the only wife who has dreams and uses them as intercessory appeals with her husband on behalf of the abject and the suffering. For instance, we were engaged in a recent study of the *Apocryphal Life of Jeremiah*.[1] Here we found the statement that the wife of Nebuchadnezzar makes a personal appeal to her husband not to engage in hostile movement against the Jews, on the ground that they are the people of God, and obtain at once whatever they ask from Him. With this we compared the story in the Talmud,[2] where the mother of the Persian King, Shapor II, says to her son, "Have nothing to do with those Jews, for whatever they ask from their Lord, He gives it them." The queen-mother's name is Iphra-Hormiz, and when we notice that in the Jeremiah story she is *awakened out of sleep* in order to intercede for the Jews, the parallel between Iphra-Hormiz and Procula becomes even closer than that with the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. So we must reserve the question of Procula's historicity, for fear of falling into a cycle of folk-lore legends. Or, if we set that suspicion on one side, we may at least ask, in view of the sympathies which the Jews recognise on the part of Iphra-Hormiz with themselves, whether it is not natural to have regarded Pilate's wife as a Jewess, either actually or secretly. At all events the Apocryphal writers recognised her as such at a very early date; nor was there any improbability in the Roman Governor having a Jewess for wife. We have a similar case, and there must have been many more, in Felix and Drusilla. That Procula was a Jewess becomes an actual motive in the narration of the *Acts of Pilate*; for here we find Pilate using it as an argument with the Jews, when trying to dissuade them from further hostility to Jesus; accordingly, "Pilate called unto him all the Jews, and said unto them: 'Ye know that my wife feareth God, and favoureth rather the customs of the Jews, with you'? They say unto him: 'Yes, we know it.' Pilate saith unto them: 'Lo! my wife hath sent unto me, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things because of him by night.' But the Jews answered and said unto

[1] *Woodbrooke Studies*, Vol. I. [2] *Taanith*, xxiv., 2.

Pilate: 'Said we not unto thee that he is a sorcerer? Behold, he hath sent a vision of a dream unto thy wife.'"

In this account there is no difference of opinion between Pilate and the Jews on the question whether Procula is a Jewess. They only differ on the point whether Jesus is a magician or not. If Matthew's account is genuine history, it must at a very early date have had attached to it the observation that Procula was a Jewess. After that the Christian story-teller has only to record her conversion to the Christian faith, such as we find her confessing in the document before us. Long before the *Acts of Pilate* were in circulation, Christian writers had taken steps to explain that Procula belonged to their fold and not to the other.

Origen could hardly be expected to keep his contemplative and allegorical mind off the statement in the Gospel that Pilate's wife had suffered on account of Christ. Was not such suffering a form of confession, the open door to sanctity? He will not commit himself too absolutely to the proposition that Pilate's wife is, by the evangelical description, a Christian. "God only knows," says he, "whether the beginning of her conversion was the fact of her suffering many things for Jesus in a vision. It is, however, so stated in certain writings which are not among the authorised scriptures" (tamen continetur etiam hoc in scripturis quibusdam non publicis).[1] Here the conversion is assumed, and a reference is made to documents of a character similar to the one that we are studying. We have in this way obtained a rapid vision of the process by which Pilate's wife passed into the calendars of the Coptic Church as St. Procula, and the Greek Church as St. Procla. In the Coptic Church Pilate and his wife are commemorated together; in the Greek Church their fellowship is not so evident; indeed it is not clear from the popular Synaxarion why Procla is commemorated. The Zante Synaxarion has no historical introduction, but only the doggerel Greek verses with which every notice of a saint is summed up, in this case as follows:—

Ἔχει παρεστῶσάν σε, Πρόκλα, Δεσπότης,
Ὁ Πειλάτῳ πρὶν σῷ παραστὰς συζύγῳ.

It is not very easy to make out the meaning of this: how did the Lord stand by Pilate? and how does the Lord have Procla standing

[1] Origen, *Comm. in Matt.*, 122.

by him? These are very bad verses; they assume that Procla is a Christian; do they make a similar assumption for Pilate? How soon, in any case, did Pilate "strike the trail?"

According to Tertullian, Pilate was always a Christian, if judged by his conscience. Tertullian goes up to him and says, "Almost thou persuadest me that thou art a Christian."[1] The problem is, how to put that Christian conscience "on the film," where consciences are so hard to register, and where the mere washing of hands seemed an inadequate demonstration of faith. So it occurred to some Christian story-teller that the right way to stage the conversion, and make it historically incontrovertible, was to put Pilate through the very same sufferings which, in consequence of his lack of courage, were inflicted on Jesus. Let the unjust judge become the criminal, and let him be scourged and spit on and finally crucified after the manner of Jesus. This is the main thread of the story of Pilate as we have it in our document.

As we have seen above, it is to the Coptic Church that Pilate owes the greater part of his spiritual dignity; and this Coptic element in tradition comes out clearly enough in our documents, even though they should actually be written in Arabic. This does not mean that the original point of departure of the widespread Pilate literature was Egyptian. The nucleus of the mass of legends is the very early belief that Pilate made some sort of a report to Rome, which, if it ever existed and could be recovered, would be the official *Acts of Pilate* of which our existing *Acta Pilati* are a clumsy caricature. Such a belief in such a document is found in the Eastern Church as well as in the West. For instance, that very early Syriac document which Cureton published under the title of the *Doctrine of Simon Cephas in the City of Rome* has it in a very definite form.

"Touching these things the Governor Pilate was also witness, for he sent and made them known to Cæsar, and these things, and more than these things, were read before him in your city. And on this account Cæsar was angry against Pilate, etc."

It is clear that the existence of an official report from Pilate to Tiberius was common belief in the Church everywhere and not limited to Egypt. That our documents have a Coptic ancestry is

[1] *Ap.*, 21.

evident from their study both internal and external. Here is a curious bit of evidence which might easily escape notice, but will be significant to those who are expert in the study of ancient documents. When Pilate is challenged by the imperial messenger who has come from Tiberius, and asked to explain why he killed Jesus without consulting the Emperor, he expresses his willingness to die for the name of Christ. The Jews then say to the imperial envoy: "What is the use of speaking to him while he insults you *in the Coptic language?*" a sentence which will be perplexing to most readers: but there is something like the same perplexity in the English Bible in the Book of Daniel (Dan. ii. 4), where we are told that the magicians said to the king *in Syriac*, etc. What really happened was that there was a linguistic change in the document at this point from Hebrew to Syriac or Aramaic, and this change has been noted on the margin and has affected the speech of the magicians. In the same way the words *in the Coptic language* have crept into our text. They only mean that there has been a change of dialect, probably from Arabic to Coptic, in the original documents. There is no need to make Pilate talk Coptic, even if he is elsewhere called an Egyptian. Other traces of Coptic in the tradition of our Pilate story will easily be detected.

We are not, however, limited to a study of our MSS. when we affirm the existence of Egyptian elements in the tradition. As we have already pointed out, there are in existence a number of Coptic documents, chiefly preserved in fragments, which are of considerable age and occupy themselves with the very same theme as those here presented. The principal of these is the series which were published by M. Revillout, and are reproduced in the second volume of the *Patrologia Orientalis*. Although only a series of fragments, the major part of them form a part of a lost document, written in the name of Gamaliel, and forming what we may call *the Gamaliel book* on Pontius Pilate and the Sorrows of the Virgin. But this is the very same authorship that is suggested in our MSS. Our text, although recurring in somewhat diverse forms, is a Gamaliel book.

The proof of these statements is not difficult. We have an account of the way in which Barabbas, who is here called Barnaban, plotted with the Jews, using his wicked wife as an intermediary, in order to secure the arrest of the Saviour. Then we are told that "after this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate and his wife

and his children and to plunder their possessions. '*When I, Gamaliel,* learnt the conspiracy of these wicked people, I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathea, etc.'" Here it will be noticed that the indirect narration of the historian has suddenly become direct, and Gamaliel is the speaker. The book, then, may rightly be described as a Gamaliel book.

Again, we have an account of the onslaught made by the Jews upon Joseph and Nicodemus for the part which they had in the burial of the Lord. The angel Gabriel comes to their aid, and then we are told that "those two blessed ones (i.e. Joseph and Nicodemus) sent for me in secret, me, Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them." The narration has now changed into *oratio recta* and Gamaliel is the speaker. Turn next to the second section of our story, that which relates especially to the sorrows of the Virgin and read the concluding paragraph :—

"Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These words have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city."

Here we have an external testimony to be joined to the previous internal evidence that the whole of our documents profess to be by the hand of Gamaliel. But Gamaliel is in the text as well as in the colophon ; for in the text we have, "I Gamaliel was following the crowd to the well that was in the garden."

If now we turn to the Revillout fragments either as printed in Coptic and translated in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, or as summarised by Dr. M. R. James in his *Apocryphal New Testament*, we shall find that the thirteenth fragment begins with a dialogue between Pilate and the Centurion, who go to the garden of Joseph, where the Jews say the body of Jesus lies at the bottom of a well. The story moves into the direct narration, "And I, Gamaliel, followed them among the band." So here, also, we have the assumed Gamaliel authorship, and an almost exact coincidence with our text.

It was not difficult, even before the discovery of our documents, to infer that the major part of the Revillout fragments belonged to a single book. Revillout, indeed, was wrong in calling this book by the name of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, but he was corrected by

Baumstark, who rightly recognised the Gamaliel authorship[1] and united the fragments numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13 under his name. Now that we have our own complete document to work from, it is easy to see fragment after fragment from Revillout in our text.

The easiest way to put before the reader the fact that our document is substantially the lost or missing Gamaliel book of which Revillout and others have brought forward fragments, will be to take a single one of Revillout's published documents, translated below by Dr. Mingana, for a closer study, and leave the remainder for reference in Dr. Mingana's foot-notes at the places where they naturally occur.

Suppose, then, we take the thirteenth fragment (of which Dr. James has given an account on p. 151 of his *Apocryphal New Testament*) We premise that this fragment, as was pointed out above, is definitely assigned to Gamaliel. It contains an incident in the story of the Centurion who, in the Gospel, has the oversight of the crucifixion of Jesus, and was so overwhelmed by what he saw and heard at that time as to break out into an ejaculation of supreme faith and wonder. It was natural enough, and might indeed have been predicted, that legend should accumulate round the person of this Centurion. It does so in a manner that has some parallel with that of Procula. First of all he must have a name, and then a new religion. This is found by dentifying him with the soldier in the Fourth Gospel, who pierced the side of Jesus, after death, to assure himself of the same, with a spear. The Greek word for spear being λόγχη (Lonchē), it was easy to christen him Longinus; that preserved his Latin soldiery and his Greek armature. The next thing was to christen him in a more exact sense by making him a primitive confessor and believer in Jesus, and this was almost ready to hand in the Gospel itself. It only remains, to use Dr. James' way of describing the manner of production of these Coptic documents, to put the frill on the frock. That brings us to the thirteenth fragment of Revillout. It was written on a double leaf, with an evident discontinuity between them, of which the natural explanation is that another double leaf or more stood between the folded portions of the fragment. Let us see what can be done by way of divination as to the missing pages and their contents, before Dr. Mingana comes to our aid with his Garshūni text.

[1] *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1906, p. 245.

Dr. James puts the case thus :—

"It is a narrative connected with the resurrection. We find Pilate examining four soldiers as to their statement that the body of Jesus was stolen. (This is the account in Matthew.) One (the second ; the testimony of the first is gone) says the eleven apostles took the body ; the third says Joseph and Nicodemus ; the fourth, 'we were asleep.' They are imprisoned, and Pilate goes with the Centurion and the priests to the tomb and finds the grave-clothes. He says, 'If the body had been stolen, these would have been taken too.' They say, 'These grave-clothes belong to some one else.' Pilate remembers the words of Jesus, 'Great wonders must happen in my tomb,' and goes in and weeps over the shroud. Then he turns to the Centurion, who had but one eye, having lost the other in battle."

The exact terms of the fragment at this point are as follows, according to Revillout's translation :—

"Il fixa son attention sur le centurion qui se tenait debout à la porte du tombeau et vit qu'il n'avait qu'un seul oeil (car on avait crevé l'autre dans le combat) et qu'il la cachait de sa main, tout le temps, pour ne pas voir la lumière."

Then comes the gap, of which Dr. James not unnaturally says that in the gap no doubt stood the statement that the Centurion's eye was healed by contact with the grave-clothes of the Redeemer. Now let us turn to our document. We first restore the evidence of soldier No. 1 :

"Pilate said to him, 'Tell me the truth : who carried away the body of Jesus ?' and he answered, 'Peter and John.'"

Then we look at the visit of Pilate to the tomb :

"Pilate took the wrappings, that is the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy. *Then he looked at the Centurion who was standing at the entrance to the tomb, and who was with one eye only, as his other eye had been put out in a war*, and a considerable time had elapsed without his having seen anything with it. Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the Centurion's eye, etc."

In this way Dr. James' conjecture was justified. The motive for the miracle lies further back. Miracles were to be expected, says Pilate, at the tomb of Jesus : one of them was that the blind should

there receive their sight. Hence the one-eyed Longinus and his recovery.

The simple incident which we have been studying will enable the reader to see how our new document helps us to unify and arrange the Coptic fragments which had been collected by Revillout and others.

It is interesting to notice that from another quarter, the literature of the Ethiopic church, another fragment of the Gamaliel book has come to light. This may have also come from a Coptic source, or perhaps from the Arabic. Dr. James quotes it from the *Newbery House Magazine* for 1892, p. 641. In this fragment the "Jews explain to Pilate that the sweet odour of the sepulchre is due to the spices put on the body by Joseph, and to the flowers in the garden. . . . After a gap is a prayer of Pilate's in which he asks pardon for having put 'another body in the place where they put Thy body.'"

The reader will easily find out what is the reason of the gap, and how the body of the penitent thief came to be put into the sepulchre of Jesus in place of His own. It is quite one of the most interesting episodes in our narration, one of the prettiest frills upon the somewhat torn robe of the Gospels. That there may be some early elements in these traditions should be conceded; but the actual historical gain is an almost irreducible minimum, for it stands already near zero.

All who read these accounts will admire the skill with which Dr. Mingana has reduced to shape for us these difficult documents. We doubt if anyone else would even have attempted the task.

RENDEL HARRIS.

PREFACES, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

By A. MINGANA.

I. The Lament of the Virgin.

Prefatory Note.

I GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a new document dealing with the resurrection of our Lord and the lamentations of His mother over His body on the occasion of His crucifixion. The immediate author of the document is said to be Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real although naturally apocryphal author of all the historical events that it contains is Gamaliel, who often speaks in it in the first person. It seems to constitute another link in the apocryphal chain of the *Acta Pilati* or the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. It has also the advantage of supplying the deficiencies of the Coptic fragments published by Revillout under the general but possibly inaccurate title of *Evangile des douze Apôtres*.[1] In some respect it may also be brought within the circle of the documents edited by Lacau in his *Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes*,[2] and of the *Coptic Gospel of Bartholomew* first translated by Crum [3] and then edited and translated by Budge.[4]

I have edited the work from two MSS. of my own collection numbered Mingana Syr. 87 and Mingana Syr. 127 (henceforth M. 87 and M. 127). M. 87 has no date, but on palæographic ground may be ascribed to about A.D. 1450, and M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683). I was unable to find a third MS. containing the document in the catalogues of the public libraries of Europe.

[1] *Pat. Orient.* ii. 123-183. See about this title Baumstark in *Revue Biblique*, 1906, p. 245. He rightly refers the story to a Gamaliel apocryphon. The present documents bear out his opinion.

[2] *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 1904.

[3] *Light of Egypt*, 1910.

[4] *Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1913.

There are sufficient variants in the two MSS. to justify us in holding that they are independent of each other, but we should be infringing the rules of philology and textual criticism were we to assert that they represent two distinct recensions of the same story. The story is undoubtedly one and the variant readings exhibited by the MSS. are to a greater or lesser degree similar to those exhibited by more than half of all the existing Oriental MSS.

I placed the text of M. 87 in the body of the page and relegated to the foot-notes the variants of M. 127. As the number of these variants is not very considerable, I have not found it cumbersome to register almost all of them with the exception of those which are exclusively of the domain of orthography. I have likewise referred in the translation to all the important discrepancies of the two MSS.

I have edited the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and in order not to swell the foot-notes without appreciable advantage I have neglected to correct the numerous grammatical mistakes committed by the author. These are more or less similar to those to which I often drew the attention of the reader in the notes found in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies*.

To show the close relationship that exists between our new document and the mutilated Coptic fragments published by E. Revillout in the *Pat. Orient.* (ii. 169-174), I shall give here a complete translation of the latter. It will be seen at a glance that our new document is derived from Coptic sources, and that in the case of fragment 15 it is a direct translation from such Coptic texts as the following. I indicate the lacunæ in the fragments by three dots.

Fragment 14.

". . . The mothers who in these countries have seen the death of their children, when they go to their tomb in order to see the body of those over whom they weep, great consolation and great . . . result for them. As to me I came out to see it . . . with all these . . . hanging on the cross like a robber . . . Lo . . .

". . . She opened her eyes, as they were closed in order not to look towards the earth because of its scandals. And she said to Him with joy: 'O Master, my Lord, my God, my Son, you have risen,

you have truly risen.' But He restrained her and implored her, saying: 'O my mother, do not touch me. Wait for a while, because it is the garment which my Father gave me when He raised me up. It is impossible that anything carnal should touch me until I go to heaven.'

"This body, however, is the one in which I spent nine months in your womb. . . . Know these things, O my mother. This flesh is the one which I received in you. It is the one which rested in my tomb, and it is also the one which rose to-day and which stands now before you. Examine well my hands and my feet, O Mary, my mother, and know that it is me whom you have nourished. Do not doubt, O my mother, that I am your Son. It is I who delivered you into the hands of John at the time when I was hanging on the cross.

"Now, O my mother, go in haste and tell my brethren and say to them . . . according to His words which I uttered to you, go to Galilee where you will find me. Hasten because it is not possible for me not to go to heaven to my Father.

"Those who have suffered with me on the earth . . . (The rest is missing.)

Fragment 15.

" . . . And (Pilate) called the second (soldier) and said to him: 'I know that you are more truthful than all these. Tell me (how many Apostles) took the body of Jesus in the tomb? And he answered: "Eleven of them came with their disciples, and took it by stealth, and separated themselves only from this one' (*i.e.* Judas?).

"And he summoned the third and said to him: 'I esteem your witness more than that of the rest. Who took the body of Jesus in the tomb?' And he replied to him: 'Joseph and Nicodemus and their parents' (*sic*).

"And he summoned the fourth and said to him: 'You are the most important one among them, and I let them go all of them. Tell me now (what happened) when they took from your hands the body of Jesus in the tomb?' And he replied to him: 'O my lord, we were asleep. We had forgotten ourselves and we were not able to know who took it. Then we rose up and looked for it but did not find it. . . . We have apprised . . .'

" . . . Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion: 'These people are lying in this way and their words are contradictory.' And

he gave orders to secure soldiers until he had gone to the tomb. At that moment he rose up with the heads of the Jews, the Sanhedrin, and the high priests. They found the wrappings placed on the ground without body there.

"And Pilate said, 'O men who hate their own souls, if they had taken the body they would have also taken the wrappings.' And they said to him: 'Do you not see that they are not his but that they belong to some others?' Pilate remembered then the words of Jesus: 'It is imperative that great miracles should take place in my tomb.' Pilate hastened then to enter into the tomb. He seized the wrappings of Jesus, which he pressed against his breast and over which he wept. He kissed them with joy as if Jesus were wrapt in them. Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the door of the tomb and noticed that he had one eye only—because they had put out the other in a war—which he hid with his hand all the time in order not to see the light.

"Then Pilate . . .

" . . . The flame of his wrath has come on you. And they acquiesced in this condemnation, saying: 'may His blood and His death be on us for ever!'

"And Pilate said to the centurion: 'O my brother, do not exchange in vain the true life which you have received for the lie and the quiet (*sic*) of the Jews.' This is what he said in the presence of the Jews. . . .

" . . . Pilate and the centurion went to the well of water of the garden, which was very deep. And I Gamaliel followed them in the crowd. They looked in the well and the Jews cried: 'O Pilate . . . Is this not the body of Jesus who died?' And (Joseph and Nicodemus) said: 'O our Lord, the wrappings which you hold are those of Jesus. As to this body it belongs to the robber who was crucified with Jesus . . . Joseph and Nicodemus placed the wrappings . . .

" . . . And Pilate remembered what Jesus had said: 'The dead shall rise in my tomb.' And thereupon he summoned the heads of the Jews and said to them: 'Do you believe that this is the Nazarene?' And they answered: 'We believe.' And he said: 'It is right then to place His body in His tomb, as it is done to all the dead . . .'"

There is no doubt whatever that the present Garshūni document

which I am editing and translating is a translation, or at least a very close imitation, of a Coptic document of which fragments only have come down to us. That Egypt is also responsible for many other statements of the author will be made abundantly clear in the footnotes that I have ventured to add to the narrative.

In my opinion the present document has nothing in common with Syriac literature or with the Syrian and Palestinian Church in general. It has been preserved to us by West Syrian copyists living either in Egypt or in Palestine, and this constitutes the only link that connects it with the great Syrian Church. This remark applies with equal right to the two works: *A Jeremiah Apocryphon* and *A New Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies* and to the *Martyrdom of Pilate* which I have also edited and translated below.

I give to the work the provisional title of *The Lament of the Virgin.*

Translation.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will write a discourse composed by Cyriacus,[1] bishop of the town of Bahnasa,[2] on the merits of the pure Virgin our Lady[3] Mary, and her affectionate weeping on the day of the crucifixion of our Lord, when on the day of His holy resurrection she went to the door of the sepulchre of her Son and did not find His body, because He had risen up from the dead. May his[4] blessing be with us. Amen.

He said:

The weeping of Jacob, the head of the Patriarchs, has been

[1] This Cyriacus is to be identified with "Cyriacus, bishop of Bahnasa" who has two Arabic discourses on the history of the flight of Christ to Egypt. They are found in Paris Arab. 155 (pp. 160-188) and analysed in *R.O.C.*, xv. 157-161. He lived in the beginning of the 15th century.

[2] Formerly a rather important town near the Lybian desert, and in our days an insignificant village. In old Egyptian it is called Permezet, in Coptic Penje and in Greek Πέμπτη. It is better known to us by another Greek name *Oxyrhynchus.* It was a bishopric, and constituted one of the chief centres of Christian Egypt; it has been said that at one time it contained as many as 360 churches. Although much exaggerated the number testifies to the importance of the place as a Christian centre.

[3] The Syr. *Mart.* See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 243.

[4] Bishop Cyriacus. M. 127 has: "his prayer."

renewed to-day, O my beloved; why then should not the Virgin Mary weep over her Son whom she conceived in virginity? Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one for whom she suffered the pangs of parturition?[1] Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one into whose divine mouth she placed her virginal breast? Why should not the Virgin weep over the manger, which is in Bethlehem? Why should not the Virgin weep over her beloved Son whom she carried during nine months of gestation? Why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she brought forth and suckled?

If Rachel weeps over children whom she has never embraced, why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she carried in her arms like all babes?[2] If Rachel weeps over children for whom she did not run from place to place, why should not the Virgin weep over her child with whom she ran from country to country? If Rachel weeps over children whose tombs she has not seen, why should not the Virgin weep at the door of her only Son's sepulchre?

The weeping of a venerable old man[3] has been renewed to-day for a young,[4] virgin woman. Jacob did not see Joseph bound by his brothers, but the Virgin saw her Son nailed to the wood of the cross. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers threw him while hungry into the depths of the well, so that he might weep over him; but the Virgin saw her Son hanging on the cross in the middle (of two malefactors), before all the Jews. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers stripped him of his clothes, but the Virgin saw her Son in a naked state in the middle of Jews devoid of understanding. Jacob did not see Joseph being sold to Egyptian merchants for thirty *denarii*, but the Virgin saw her Son when Judas sold Him for thirty pieces of silver. Jacob wept over a foreign blood and over a robe that was not torn by wild beasts, but it is over a divine blood smeared on the rock of the *Kranion*[5] that the Virgin is weeping, and over the foreign robe[6] which her Son was wearing, since they had divided His garments among themselves. The brothers of Joseph wept and

[1] Evidently the author does not believe in the painless birth of Christ.
[2] Lit. "like all men."
[3] The Patriarch Jacob mentioned at the beginning.
[4] Read *Shābbatin*.
[5] The author uses the Greek word κρανίον (*al-akrānion*).
[6] Which foreign robe?

repented that they had sold their brother, but the Children of Israel did not weep when they sold their Lord.[1] The sons of Jacob rejoiced when their brother reigned (over Egypt), but the Jews did not rejoice when their Lord rose up from the dead.

O pure Virgin, your wailing over the tomb of your beloved Son is truly sweet and your voice is melodious in the middle of the angels, when they brought to you the sad news and said : "O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is standing before the Governor and is being judged and insulted by the High Priest of the Jews ?" O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being stripped in the court of His garment dyed (with His blood) ? O daughter of Joiakim, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is carrying alone a cross in the streets of Jerusalem, and no one comes near Him ? O dove of Hannah what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being crucified in the place of the *Kranion ?* O seed of David, why have they lifted your Son on the cross ?

O my pure and Virgin Lady, your wailing is truly sweet to-day in the house of John, while saying :[2] "Oh, how bitter is this messenger who came to me to-day ! He is more bitter than the messenger of death who came to Job and to Jacob—Israel. Oh, how cruel is the intelligencer who came to me to-day, O my Child ! He is more cruel than the one who announced to Lot the burning of his town. Oh, how painful is the news that came to me to-day, O my child ! It is more painful than the news concerning the death of the valiant men of Israel. Oh, how cruel is the messenger who brought me this bad news, O my child ! (This child) has comforted me for thirty years, and He never furnished me with an occasion to chide Him and scold Him. (What adds bitterness) to the news is that the one who brought it to me is Salome ! All my sorrow has began again !

"O my child, I have never been to a Governor, nor have I ever stood before a judge. I have never seen a robber being killed, nor have I ever gone to the *Kranion*, nor do I know the place of the Golgotha. O my child, I have never stood before a man engaged in litigation so that I might realise the false wisdom (that has been applied to your case) ; nor have I ever been present in a law court, so that I

[1] This sentence is missing in M. 127.
[2] M. 127 : "while sitting."

might realise the injustice that has been done to you. O my child, I am inside the house of John, and you are in the house of the High-Priest Annas. O my child, this cruel news that concerns you has outweighed the sadness of my orphanhood, and the painful information relating to you has to-day[1] deprived me of my joy. The angel announced to me your birth in Nazareth, and I have been announced this cruel news about you in Jerusalem.[2] Your Annunciation occurred to me in the house of Joseph, and this bad news was brought to me in the house of John. O my beloved, I was rejoicing in my heart and saying constantly, 'To-morrow we shall have our passover, accomplish the ordinance of the feast and return to our home;' the passover has come to me, O my beloved Son, with weeping and wailing! My feast has changed into lamentation and my passover into grief!"

The Virgin uttered this affectionate wailing[3] in the house of John when they brought to her the sad news of her Son. Then she began to look for one of His holy disciples to walk with her, but she did not find any, because all had fled and forsaken Him from fear of the Jews. She asked for Peter to accompany her, and she was informed that from his fear of the High Priest he had denied her Son, saying, "I do not know Him," and that he had gone and hidden himself from Him. She asked for James, the brother of the Lord, and she was informed that he had fled and left Him on the mount where He was seized. She asked for Andrew, and she was informed that he had never come with Him to town at all. She asked for Thomas, and she was informed that he had thrown down his garments and fled. She asked for the son of Tulmas,[4] and she was informed that he was the first of His brethren to flee. She asked for Philip, and she was informed that when he saw the torches burning, he was terrified and fled. She asked for James, the brother of John, and she was informed that he never even looked at Him. She asked for Matthew, and she was informed that he was afraid of the Jews[5] more than all others, as they had a special grudge against him from the time he used to collect taxes from

[1] M. 87 omits "to-day."

[2] See on this word my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 153.

[3] M. 127 omits "affectionate wailing."

[4] *I.e.* Bartholomew. The author is dividing the word into two and translating the Aramaeo-Syriac *bar* by "son of."

[5] M. 87 adds: "and of the High Priests."

them, and he had, therefore, fled in the darkness of the night. In short she asked for all of them, and she did not find a single one of them except John who had accompanied Him to the *Kranion* and the Golgotha.

Then the Virgin resumed her weeping and wailing, because she was not able to find any of the Apostles, the disciples of her Son, except John, and said while weeping:

"Woe is me, O my Son and O my beloved, because your brethren fled and disappeared. O my father Peter, I was thinking every day that you would not deny your Master. You have not been given gold and silver that you denied Him so quickly. You have not been presented with a boat and oars, why then did you deny to-day your Master and your Lord? You have not had the gift of a son or a daughter (as the price of your denial), O Peter, and you have not had the offer of exchanging Him for a brother or a friend, why then this spiritless weakness of yours? You did not see a second cross, O Peter, which you believed might be for you, that you were so terrified that you denied Him. He gave you a tongue of iron, O Peter, and you melted it and spoiled it without fire or a smith. He bestowed grace upon you,[1] O Peter, more than all men, and you did not bear now a single slap for your Master. He bestowed on you, O Peter, two eyes the light of which does not fade, and you did not feel ashamed to deny their light.[2] He confided to you, O Peter, the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and you did not suffer a short time (for Him) in the prison of the High Priest.

"He made you, O Peter, His deputy to all the world, and you did not endure a single temptation[3] for your Master. He made you, O Peter, a father to all the world, and you did not act in a brotherly love for a single short hour towards my Son. He imposed His divine hand on your head,[4] O Peter, and you did not agree[5] to have a crown of thorns on your head before you had denied Him. Even if you say,

[1] Lit. "he gave grace to your face" which is in harmony with the "slap" that follows.

[2] The word should be in the dual form.

[3] M. 87: "temptation for a short time."

[4] In the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by the Apostle Bartholomew* (in James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 184) it is said that the Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, laid His hand on the head of Peter.

[5] A colloquial word is used here.

O Peter, that my Son is not your Master but only your friend, it did not behove you to deny Him in this way. If you had to endure, O Peter, all the tribulations undergone with us by my father[1] Joseph, you should have been dragged to Herod with my Son.[2] If you had to bear like him the pains of the journey to the country of Egypt, you might not have been able to endure a single one of them. May the dew of heaven nurture your bones, O my father Joseph, the just man, and may the tree of life nourish[3] your soul because you have endured my tribulations with me, and have not denied my Son! O Peter, they have not brought you before the Governor, nor have they placed you before the high tribunal that you denied your Master so quickly."

When the Virgin finished her lamentations over the denial of Peter in the house of John, she sent for John, who came and found her weeping. Then both John and the Virgin wept over the Lord Jesus. Then John said to the Virgin: "O my mother, do not weep over Peter for his denial of my Master, because he has not the same blame attached to him as that which attaches to Judas who betrayed Him. I heard what my Master said at the evening meal and what Peter said to Him, 'Be it far from you, Lord, this shall not be unto you,'[4] but I will give my life for you. And I heard my Lord and my Master rebuking him three times saying to him, 'Go ye behind me, Satan, you have become an offence to me, for you think not of the things that be of God, but of those things that be of men.'[5] Now, O my Lady and my mother, do not weep over my father Peter, because his denial will be (the symbol of) repentance to sinners, as he gave the lie to his own words and corroborated the words of his Master."

Then the Virgin gave herself to bitter weeping because she had not seen her Son, and she reverted again to her painful lamentations in the house of John and said: "I adjure you, O John, to show me the way to the *Kranion*. I adjure you, O John, to accompany me to the Golgotha. I have never seen yet a robber being crucified, nor

[1] "Father" denotes here in the Eastern parlance, "a dear old man."
[2] Lit. "with Him."
[3] Read *tukit*.
[4] Matt. xvi. 22. The sentence was of course not uttered at the last meal.
[5] Matt. xvi. 23. Christ rebuked Peter only once and not three times as stated in the text.

have I stood near a robber when he was being beheaded.[1] I shall forsake my town and my great freedom, and shall go bare-footed to the place in which my beloved Son has been crucified like common robbers, because He is alone and not one of His brethren is standing near Him, and there is not here with you any of your friends who would say anything about you. O my child, the sorrow of a mother for her beloved son is something, and the sorrow of a friend for his friend is another thing; the pain of the heart of a mother weeping over her beloved son is something, and the weeping of a friend over his friend is another thing. My sorrow, O my child, is to-day greater than that of all the world, and of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and my weeping is more bitter than that of all who shall gather[2] near me."

When John noticed that she was not able to cease her weeping and wailing and that he on his part was unable to comfort her, because she was saying: "If I do not see Him I cannot be comforted," he said to her: "Get up, and I will accompany you to the *Kranion*, so that you may see Him." The Virgin, therefore, went out of the house of John and walked in the streets of Jerusalem. People who saw the Virgin walking said to one another: "From where is this wailing woman?" And the people of the bazaars said: "We have never seen this woman buying anything from this bazaar." Some others said "This is a foreign woman and she walks in this street as if she did not know it." The people, however, who recognised in John the disciple of the Lord Jesus, said: "This may perhaps be His mother going to see Him on the cross." Some people said: "This is the wife of Joseph," and some others said: "The news of His conception was brought to her." Finally, some people said: "Look at her, how[3] beautiful is her face and her weeping," and yet some others said: "We have not seen another one in this town like her, and her face resembles that of her Son." In short, every one in the market was saying something about her and how noticeable was her appearance in the streets of the town. And Salome was walking behind her, while some other women covered her with her veil, but she was not observing anything but only listening to the sorrow of her heart.

[1] The text uses here *rā's* "head" in feminine under the influence of κεφαλή. See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 249.

[2] Codd. "who are gathered."

[3] Read *ma*.

When she reached the Golgotha, she noticed a great throng of people in groups of different tribes and clans looking at (her Son) on the Cross. People of various nationalities,[1] from all districts had assembled in Jerusalem in that holy month for the immolation of the lamb : Amgazites,[2] Balakites,[3] Moabites, Kabarites,[4] and Ishmaelites. All these were pressing in groups against one another for the great and wonderful sight. Some people were saying : "They condemned this one to-day with injustice," and some others were saying : "They have emptied their wrath on Him." Some were saying : "They were seeking the death of this one for many years," and some others were saying : "They have killed a brave man to-day." Some were saying : "If there was justice in this town, they would never have been able to kill this one," and yet some others were saying : "This is the one for whom the Emperor sent in order to make Him a King over all Judæa,[5] and that is why Herod ordered His death." Some people cursed Herod because of Him, saying : "The one who took his brother's wife while he was still alive and rendered him a poor and a wretched man, has also killed this one without pity."

As to the Virgin she inclined her face towards the earth on account of her weeping and humility, and she was not able to see her Son quickly because of her painful weeping and the thronging of the great multitudes of people. She said, therefore, to John : "Where is my beloved Son so that I may see Him ; the pressing of these numerous

[1] Lit. "many languages." The construction of the sentence with the word *lughat* is here strange and denotes a Greek or a Coptic original.

[2] M. 127 : *Magazites*. I cannot identify this people without textual emendations. Can it be a copyist's error for *Amorites ?* The graphic difference between *Amgazites* and *Amorites* is rather slight in ancient and undotted Arabic characters from which the present Garshūni document appears to me to be derived.

[3] Are they descendants of Balak, King of Moab of Num. xxii.-xxiv. etc. ? The Moabites come immediately after as a separate people. The author does not seem to be versed in Jewish history.

[4] I cannot identify this people without textual emendations.

[5] In the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (Nos. 2 and 4) in *Pat. Orient.* ii., p. 132 sqq., it is said that the Emperor Tiberius ordered twice that Jesus should be made King. The first occasion was when Carius sent the Apostle John to report to him about Jesus, and the second time was when Jesus was speaking to the Apostles on the mountain. See also Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 176, and James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 148. *Cf.* John vi. 15.

people against one another does not allow me to see Him." And John said to her: "Lift your head towards the western side of these people, and you will see Him extended on the cross." And the Virgin looked towards all those multitudes of people, and she saw Him. She did not cease to wade with John through the multitudes until she came and stood at His right, and looked at Him in His sufferings.

When God saw His mother He looked towards John and said to him: "O man, this is your mother," and then He said to His mother: "O mother, this is your son."[1] And John held the Virgin's hand in order to take her to his house, but the Virgin, his mother, said: "O John, let me weep[2] over Him, as He has no brother and no sister, and do not deprive me of Him. O my Son, would that I had with you a crown of thorns on my head, and would that I could make it as painful as yours. If the penalty of all the robbers is crucifixion, why have they not stripped you of your garments, O Judas, since you are a thief and stole from the bag?[3] O John, look at my wretchedness to-day in the middle of these multitudes. Look at my lowliness and at the pains of my heart. Let me look at His face to my satisfaction. Let me look at His sufferings to my satisfaction, as I have never seen Him in such a state before, except to-day. Let me weep over Him, because my sufferings are to-day greater than His sufferings. The lying-place of all the paupers is the dung-heap, let me then look at Him to my satisfaction, because I am an orphan without father, without mother, and without relatives."[4]

This is the wailing indulged in by the Virgin while she was at the right side of her Son. She was in a state of confusion owing to the intensity of her pain, and because of the greatness of her sorrow she did not notice the great multitudes that were present. She was only bent on weeping. Now there were present there Joanna,[5] wife of Chuza, Mary Magdalene and Salome, and these got hold of the Lady (Mary) and lifted her up. Her wailing was truly sweet while

[1] John xix. 26-27.

[2] M. 87: "Leave His mother alone, O John, and let her weep."

[3] John xii. 6. [4] M. 87; "without a man."

[5] The author writes this name of Luke viii. 3, and xxiv. 10, as *Yona* or *Yawanna* which is more the Greek *Iwanna* than the Syriac *Yohan*. John xix. 25 and Matt. xxvii. 56, do not mention this Joanna as standing near the cross. From where did the author derive this information?

she was surrounded by pure women, who were weeping with her because of the sweetness of her words. Other Jewish women who heard her weeping scoffed at her saying: "Our vengeance has come to-day on you and on your Son, because it is through you that our wombs have become childless from the year in which you brought Him forth."[1]

The heads of the Jews spoke then with the soldiers of Herod and hardened their hearts to kill (Jesus). They had informed Herod that Pilate with a great number of people loved Jesus, and they had added: "We fear that in going to crucify Him, those people might raise against us and snatch Him from our hands on the advice of Pilate. Give us, therefore, order and power to crucify Him."[2] And they had given him much money, and he had given them the power required and sent his soldiers to them. This is the reason why Pilate did not go out with him that day; he feared an armed conflict between him and the Jews. Indeed Pilate and his wife loved (Jesus) like their own soul, and the flogging that he had ordered for Him was done in order to satisfy the wicked Jews, and so to save Him from death. Had he known that they would crucify Him, if he were to die with his wife and his sons, he would not have laid hands on Him at all. The Jews had lied to Pilate saying: "If you only chastise this rebel for us, and if he ceases to heal people on the Sabbath day, we will release Him." It is under this false pretext that Pilate had ordered Him[3] to be flagellated.

The above conspiracy took place before the Virgin stood at the right side of Her Son and John wished to take her to his house. She then rose weeping and lamenting and returned to town, saying: "I leave you in peace,[4] O my child, you and the cross upon which you have been lifted up. I salute[5] your face full of grace, which they have insulted and at which they have railed. I salute your nudity, O King, who is in the middle of robbers. I salute your royal garment,

[1] From where did the author get this information?

[2] That it was Herod and not Pilate who killed the Christ is also the belief of the Ethiopic Church: "He (Paul) is a disciple of Jesus Christ whom Herod the son of Archelaus slew in the days of Pontius Pilate." Budge's *The Contendings of the Apostles*, ii., 556.

[3] The Arabic sentence is wrongly constructed as if Pilate himself had flogged Jesus.

[4] *I.e.*, farewell.

[5] Lit. I ask.

O my child, which is in the hands of your enemies. I salute you, O my beloved, with the crown of thorns which is overshadowing you."

The Virgin was saying all this while she was being taken weeping to the house of John. There she did not cease to weep, nor did she give slumber to her eyelids,[1] but she kept weeping and wailing. After (John) had placed her in the house he did not neglect to go to the *Kranion* and witness till the end all the sufferings of his Master. When the body[2] had ceased to function, He gave up the ghost. Then all the town shook from the great earthquake that occurred in the earth and the signs that took place in heaven. When the Virgin noticed that the earth quaked and that darkness spread over all the town, she said: "This is a sign that my Son has died." While she was saying this, lo, John came weeping. And the Virgin said to him: "Is it not true that my Son died[3] on the cross?" And he inclined his head and said, "Yes, He died."

How great were the weeping and the lamentations of the Virgin at that hour![4] With intense pains of the heart she wept and said: "Woe is me, O my child, because of this dreadful death which you have incurred. I did not find a Governor to inquire into the injustice done to me, nor a judge to gauge the pains of my heart. O Governor, if you had judged with justice according to the law, the Son of the King would not have been killed while hungry and thirsty. O High Priest, if you had judged with justice, Judas would have been worthy of crucifixion[5] instead of my Son. If you had pondered over your decision, O Governor, you would not have crucified my Son in His nudity.[6] If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have released a robber from death, and killed the Prince. If you had judged with equity, O Governor, you would not have killed a valiant man while war[7] is looking you in the face. If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have uttered insulting words to your Master.

[1] Ps. cxxxii. 4.
[2] M. 87: "the soul."
[3] M. 127: "Did my Son die?"
[4] In cap. x. of the Recension B of the Greek text of the *Acts of Pilate* long quotations are also given from the lamentations of the Virgin when she was informed by John of the crucifixion of Jesus. *Cf.* James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 116.
[5] M. 127, "death."
[6] M. 127, omits "in His nudity."
[7] Which war?

"I hear that at a time when people are at war, if it happens that they capture the son of the King, they take great care of him and do not kill him, but send him to his father as an honour, why then, O High Priest, when you asked (my Son) the truth and He told it to you, you hated Him?[1] You preferred a lie and put your trust on it. You asked for truth, do you not know then that the one who is standing before you is truthful, nay truth and life?"[2]

Truly, O Virgin, O holy Mary, you have met with injustice in the town of Jerusalem more than many of your generation, because they attacked the great one who was in it, and delivered Him to the judgment of death.

After all this, the Christ was still hanging on the cross, and many confessed saying: "This man who performed all these deeds is the Son of God."[3] All the people who believed wept while He was on the cross. Then Pilate summoned the centurion who was sent by Herod in order to crucify (Jesus), and he ushered him into his house and said to him: "Have you seen, O my brother, what the Jews and Herod did to this just Man, and how they killed Him with such an injustice that all this happened on the earth? I tell you, O my brother, that all this evil is not by my will but on the advice of Herod. I wished to release Him and save Him from death, but when I noticed that this was against the wish of Herod, I delivered Him to the Jews for crucifixion. See now, what ransom shall we give to God for His Son whom we have killed?" Then the centurion together with the owner of the spear and Pilate began to weep bitterly saying: "May His blood be on Herod and on the High Priest!"

Then Pilate summoned the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas before the public and said to them: "O haters of bodies[4] and drinkers of blood unjustly shed, see now what happened as a consequence of the death of Jesus of Nazareth on the cross. May His blood be on you and on your children!" And they struck at their chests and at their faces saying: "May the blood of this erring man be on us and on our children[5] for a thousand generations!" And

[1] *Cf.* Matt. xxvi. 63-64. [2] John xiv. 16.

[3] *Cf.* Matt. xxvii. 54.

[4] M. 87, "O people with long robes on their bodies." About all the incidents in the present story see the Coptic fragments which I translated in the *Prefatory Note.*

[5] Matt. xxvii. 25.

Pilate said, "What! even now after all the signs that He showed in heaven and earth, you are not awestruck and amazed like all the people?" And they said: "We are not afraid because we have fulfilled the law."

And Pilate said: "O High Priest, if you have fulfilled the law, why are your clothes rent? The law says that if a High Priest rends his clothes, he falls from office." And he answered: "I rent my clothes[1] because He blasphemed against the Most High God and against the law." And Pilate said to him: "I order you not to enter the temple[2] another time like a High Priest but like a rebel. And if anyone tells me that you have gone to the temple I will cut off your head." And the High Priest said to him: "Which Governor among your predecessors has in the preceding time interdicted a High Priest, and has enjoyed a long term of office?"[3] He said this because he was under the jurisdiction of Herod.

And Pilate said to him: "Are not then the signs that have so far occurred sufficient for you, as they are for all the people?" And the High Priest said to Pilate: "You are a young shoot in this town, and you do not know the meaning and the portent of these signs. This month is Barmudah[4] and in it the revolution of the sun and the moon takes place. At this time the sorcerers give to the moon the colour of blood and detract the ray of the sun by their spells. They do it in order to exact work from the husbandman[5] and to prognosticate concerning the fruits, the crops, the wines and the oils." This is what the High Priest lied and said.

Then Pilate rose from his chair and scourged him with a rough whip; he plucked also the hair of his beard, and tormented him and said: "You wish to bring the wrath[6] (of God) on the earth on account of your hatred for Jesus." Then the centurion and the soldier said: "You prefer death to life." After having chastised him on the recommendation of Pilate, they sent him to prison on the advice of the centurion, until such time as they would send him to the Emperor.

[1] Matt. xxvi. 65.
[2] Lit. "to the Holy," which may refer to the "holy city" of Jerusalem.
[3] M. 127 has for the last sentence: "that you should interdict me."
[4] Coptic month corresponding with our March to April.
[5] Lit. "They ask for the works of the servants."
[6] M. 127: "that the wrath should come."

After this Pilate conferred with the centurion and said: "Is His body going to hang on the cross?" And the centurion said to Pilate: "The power is in your hands, O Governor." And Pilate said to him: "Do you wish that we should take Him down from the cross and confide Him to a reliable man for three days, in order that perchance He may rise as He Himself raised many people from the dead?" When Pilate uttered these words the heads of the Jews shouted suddenly and said: "It is against the law to deliver a dead man to any one. The grave is the resting-place of the dead."

After this Joseph, who is from Arimathea, came to Pilate and asked permission to take down the body of Jesus Christ from the cross. And Pilate was pleased and he ordered it to be given to him; and the Jews walked behind him with the guards. Joseph, then, took it down from the cross and buried it in conjunction with Nicodemus. The Jews, however, had an argument with him because they did not wish to bring down His body from the cross, but to leave it on the wood like that of all other robbers, because Jesus had made[1] mention of His resurrection. After they had shrouded Him well in perfume, myrrh, and new linen wrappings, which had not been used for another man at all, they laid Him in a new tomb in which no other body had ever been laid, because it was newly made for Joseph himself, the owner of the garden. They then fastened Him well[2] till the third day.

When the body of Jesus was placed in the sepulchre the Jews went to Pilate and said: "You know that it is the Sabbath;" and they asked for four witnesses for His tomb, two from the soldiers of Herod, and two from the soldiers of the centurion. They confided the tomb to them and ordered them to guard it till the third day. And the centurion remained in Jerusalem till the third day in order to see the miracle; and he said: "If Jesus rises from the dead, I shall have no further need of the power of Herod."

After all this John went in haste to the Virgin and said to her: "They have laid my Master in a good new tomb, and have shrouded Him with new wrappings, good perfume, and myrrh of a high quality. And the Virgin enquired: "Who was the one who did this good thing to my beloved Son?" And he informed her[3] that it was Joseph and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs.

[1] Lit. "if he had not made."
[2] M. 127: "Placed guards over Him."
[3] Read *fa' a 'lamaha.*

And the Virgin did not cease her weeping and wailing, and said: "If they have placed my beloved Son under the tree of life, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If they have placed the robe of Solomon over the body of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see His tomb. If they have poured the perfume of Aaron over the body of my Son, I cannot be comforted unless I see His burial-place. If they have laid my Son in the graves of the prophets, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the grave in which my Son is lying is that of Elisha, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the place in which they have placed my son is Paradise itself, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. May the dew of Heaven nurture you, O my father Joseph, and may the firmament nourish you,[1] O Nicodemus, for the little good work you did to my Son on the cross!

"Would that I had been weeping under your cross, O my Son! Even if I could not find your body, O my beloved, I would have grasped your blood, because although Jacob did not find the blood of Joseph, he wept over the blood of another. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because I have not seen your body and your blood.[2] If I had found your blood, O my Child, I would have purified my garment with it, and if I had found your garment, it would have been as a garment of Joseph[3] to me. The blood over which Jacob wept was a foreign blood, and that over which I weep is flowing from the side of my Son. If they have not broken your bones, O my Son, as it is written in their law, so that (the malefactors) might be delivered from their pain, they have pushed the spear-head into your divine side.

"No evil deed was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you before they crucified you, and no injustice was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my reins are bursting inside me. I never saw a physician healing people like you, O my beloved Son, and in spite of that they struck[4] you. You have been a physician to their diseases which you cured, and in spite of that they nailed you to the wood of the cross. You have been a physician, O my Child,[5] to their men born blind, and you gave them

[1] About this sentence, *cf. An Apocryphal Jeremiah*, in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 159.

[2] M. 127 omits all this sentence.

[3] Presumably not her husband but the Patriarch.

[4] There is a slight difference in the meaning of the texts of the two MSS.

[5] M. 127: "O my Son."

their sight,[1] and in spite of that the unbelieving Jews did not feel ashamed to insult you. You have been a physician, O my Son, and you drove out their demons from them, and in spite of that they did not honour you but said, 'You drive them out by Beel-Zebul.'[2] You have been a physician, O my Son, and you cured them from hæmorrhage, and in spite of that they did not feel ashamed of you, but they pierced you in your side, O my beloved, with a spear-head. I adjure you, O John, to come with me to the tomb of my Son. I implore you, O John, to accompany me to my only Son so that I may pay a visit to His cross.[3] I know, O John, that I am putting you to much trouble with the sorrow of my heart, but have patience with me and you will receive much blessing from my beloved Son."[4]

The Virgin uttered these and similar words in her lamentations and said :[5] "O John, if I do not see His tomb I shall not be comforted in my sorrow." And John used to comfort her saying : "Cease your weeping because they have buried Him with perfume, incense, and new wrappings, near a garden." The Virgin, however, wept, saying : "If the ark of Noah were the place of the burial of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him and weep over Him." And John said to her : "How can you go while four soldiers from the soldiers of the Governor are lying on the sepulchre ?" And the Virgin remained in this weeping and wailing over her Son in the day of His crucifixion, the Sabbath day, to the morning of Sunday.

As to the soldiers whom the Governor had detailed to guard the tomb, the heads of the Jews had entered with them into a conspiracy unknown to the Governor and the Centurion, to the effect that if the erring one were perchance to rise they should inform them of the fact before the Governor. For this and for their not disclosing this conspiracy to Pilate they were promised much money and silver. The Jews held this conspiracy with the soldiers before the latter went to guard the tomb.

When, however (Jesus) rose and many signs took place at His

[1] M. 127 omits this sentence.

[2] The author does not use the Syriac form *Beel-Zebub* with a *b* at the end.

[3] Lit. "So that I may pay Him a visit on the cross." M. 127 omits all this sentence.

[4] M. 87 omits "from my beloved Son."

[5] M. 127 omits all this sentence.

resurrection, the soldiers were frightened and terrified, and became like dead men. They entered the town early in the morning and remembering the deceitful words of the Jews they went to them while it was still dark before they went to the Governor and apprised them of the fact that Jesus of Nazareth[1] had risen from the dead as He had predicted. The Jews went then in haste and related to the High Priest the words of the soldiers to the effect that Jesus had risen from the dead; and they shouted saying: "Woe to the Jews and to their lives, because this day has more evil in it for them than the day in which He was crucified. What shall we do if the Governor and the centurion hear that He rose from the dead. We shall all fall into his hands. But let us see first what really took place." And they went to the tomb while it was still early in the morning, and did not find the body of Jesus in it. Then they tore their garments, gave silver to the four soldiers apart from His garments and said: "Will He appear to everybody?" In short every one of them (in their confusion) said something.[2]

As to the Virgin she did not neglect to go to the tomb early on Sunday morning. Mary Magdalene had, however, preceded her to the sepulchre[3] and noticed that the stone had been rolled away from it. And the Virgin said: "This is a sign that occurred in the case of my Son, and it perplexes me; Who rolled away this stone from the door of the sepulchre?" The Virgin looked then in the four directions of the tomb, and did not find in it the body of her Son, and she sat down and reverted to her wailing and lamentation and said:

"Woe is me, O my beloved Son, who is it that carried your body and added to the sorrow of my heart? I have not been at all to the tomb of my father nor to that of my mother; when my father died I was a young girl in the temple. Nor have I ever been to the grave of my father Joseph[4] who endured so many[5] troubles with you, O my Son. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Son, in order to inform myself concerning your body, another sorrow has been

[1] M. 127 omits "of Nazareth." [2] Lit. "A word."

[3] This is against the following document or *Martyrdom of Pilate* which wrongly asserts that it was the Virgin Mary who went first to the sepulchre. See below, p. 245.

[4] *I.e.*, Joseph her husband. In the following page Joseph dies on the day of the crucifixion. On the use of the word "father" in this connection see above, p. 187.

[5] Lit. "all these."

added to my sorrow. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Child, I met with a bitter disappointment, as I did not find your body in it, O my Son.[1] On the Golgotha they did not permit me to satisfy my desire for looking at you to my satisfaction, and to-day they did not allow me to satisfy my desire for looking at your body in the grave to my heart's desire. On the day of your birth, in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, when your star shone, Herod did not glorify you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son, when the sun suffered eclipse, the Jews[2] did not believe in you.

"On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, your angels surrounded you in order to glorify you, and on the day of your resurrection, O my beloved Son, your brethren forsook you.[3] On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, the shepherds came at day-break and worshipped you, and on the day of your death, O my beloved Son, I came to your tomb and did not find your body in it. On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the Magi came to you with their offerings, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son,[4] a wicked robber insulted you. The day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the animals praised it, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, I met with pain and sorrow.[5] On the day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, Joseph served you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, the same Joseph, my father, died.[6]

"Woe is me, O my beloved, there is no sorrow like my sorrow, nor is there any pain like the pain of a mother looking at her son on the wood of the cross. O my Son, I went to the Golgotha and did not see your body on the wood of the cross;[7] and I came to the door of your tomb asking for you, and you did not answer me. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my sorrow is twofold to-day, because I did not see your body on the wood so that I might weep over it,[8] and because I did not find it in the tomb so that I might worship it. I adjure the four soldiers who keep watch over your tomb and your body to

[1] M. 127 omits "O my Son."
[2] M. 127 omits "the Jews."
[3] M. 87 adds: "with anxiety."
[4] M. 87: "O light of my eyes."
[5] M. 87: "with pain of the heart."
[6] The author evidently believes that Joseph died on the day of the crucifixion of Jesus.
[7] The author refers here to a second visit by the Virgin to the Golgotha.
[8] M. 87 omits this sentence.

deliver your body if perchance they have removed it through bribery.[1] I implore Joseph and weep before Nicodemus to reassure me concerning your body since they took it on their own responsibility from Pilate and laid it in this tomb. I have never seen Joseph nor do I know Nicodemus, but on account of the intensity of my pain I let my heart go to them."

This is what the Virgin said over the tomb of her Son. She was perplexed in her soul from her fear of the Jews and from the fact that she did not find the body of her Son in the tomb. While she was thinking deeply [2] a sudden light shone and an exquisite perfume was perceived from the right side of the tomb, as if wafted from an incense tree.[3] The Virgin looked towards the direction of the scent and saw the good God standing, clad in a heavenly robe and His face greatly suffused with joy. And He said to her : " O woman, what makes you burst into this affectionate wailing at this empty tomb which contains no body ?" And she replied : " It is my sorrow ; and this sorrow, O my Lord, arises from the fact that I did not find the body of my Son, so that I might weep over it and be somewhat comforted." And Jesus said to her : " If you were not satisfied in weeping and wailing throughout all this length of time, had you found the body of your Son in the tomb you would have never ceased your lamentation." And she replied : " O my lord, if I had found it I would have been somewhat comforted by it."

And he said to her : " O woman, if you had seen your Son dead, you would have had no comfort in looking at His side pierced with a spear, at His hands and feet wounded by the driving of nails in them, and at His body smeared with blood. Now, O woman, comfort yourself, because it was more advantageous for you not to have seen Him dead and wept all the more over Him. What comfort did you derive when you saw Him alive on the cross, and dead with wrappings round Him ? Truly, O woman, you have had much courage in your soul in coming to this place, while it is still dark and while all this great disturbance reigns in the town. The guards went from here and are now conspiring with the Jews in lying terms concerning your Son. Does the tomb, in which the body of your Son was laid

[1] Lit. " by silver." [2] M. 127 omits this sentence.
[3] M. 127 omits the last sentence.

belong to the Jews?[1] No, O woman, I know the man called Joseph, and this garden belongs to him."

And the Virgin said to him: "O my lord, you know everything that happened to my Son, and the love which they showed to Him in laying Him in this tomb. I could not bear to stay in the house of John any longer, but I came to enquire after Him. Now, O my lord, since[2] you are the owner of the garden—and the beauty of your dresses[3] and the sweet words with which you have answered me testify to this—if there is pity in your heart for me show it to me now, because I have no other child. Disclose to me His secret and what they did with His body since I did not find it in His tomb. Have the Jews carried it away because of their hatred for the Governor concerning it? And also, O my lord, if it is hidden in your garden and you know who took it there, have pity on me and show me its place so that I may just see it. By your life, O my brother, I have never seen this place except to-day."

And Jesus said to her: "O Mary, you have wept sufficiently. The living one[4] is the one who is speaking to you; the one who was crucified is now standing near you; the one whom you are seeking is the one who is comforting you; the one for whom you are asking is the one who is clad in this heavenly robe; the one whose tomb you are wishing to see is the one who smashed the doors of brass.[5] O Mary, recognise my glory; lo I am comforting you with the words of life, be not ashamed therefore, nor afraid. Look at my face, O my mother, and you will recognise me. It is I who raised Lazarus in Bethany. It is I Jesus who is resurrection and life. It is I Jesus whose blood flowed on the rock in the *Kranion*. It is I Jesus who is comforting you in your sorrow. It is I Jesus over whom you are weeping, who is now comforting you at the beginning of His resurrection. No one took away my body, O my mother, but I rose according to the will of my Father. You came to-day to the tomb, O my mother, and I took up out of Hades all those who were fettered in it, and saved those who had fallen into sin."

[1] M. 87 omits this sentence.
[2] Lit. "If."
[3] M. 127, "with your glory."
[4] *al-ḥayy* seems to be used here as a title. It is one of the old titles of Christ.
[5] *I.e.* of Hades.

When the Virgin heard this she received strength and comfort[1] and ceased her weeping and anxiety. She lifted up her eyes from the ground, filled her sight from Him, saw Him in the grace of His divinity and said: "You have truly risen, O my Son and my Lord! You have truly risen!"[2] And she bent over Him and embraced Him. And He said to her: "Enough, O mother, of the joy which I granted you through my resurrection. Look now at the spoliation of Hades, O my mother, and see how glad and joyful its inmates are. I shall present them as an offering to my Father before I take them to Paradise."[3]

And the Virgin looked round Him and saw the multitudes which He had taken up from Hades, clad in white robes. She was amazed at them, and Jesus said to her: "Go in haste and announce my resurrection from the dead to my brethren. Go in haste, O my mother, leave this place and do not stand at the right side of my tomb, because a company of the Jews will come with Pilate to find out what took place, and see if I[4] would raise the dead, and give sight to the blind and motion to the lame."

After the Lord Jesus said this to His mother He disappeared from her sight. She then left the tomb with haste and went and told the Apostles and the women that the Lord had risen from the dead,[5] and they also came to see what had happened. The news spread then in all the town that Jesus of Nazareth rose from the dead as He had said, and that He told His mother: "I will precede you to Jerusalem, you will all see me and I will bless you there."[6]

As to the High Priests and the Jews, they went in the morning to Pilate, the Governor, as if they had heard nothing, and said to him: "O our lord Governor, error has increased and scandals have multiplied

[1] M. 127 omits "and comfort."

[2] M. 1270 only: "You have truly risen, O my father."

[3] On the descent of Christ into Hades see *Gospel of Nicodemus* in James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 123-140, and many other works of the Fathers.

[4] M. 127 omits this sentence.

[5] There is no doubt that present document attributes to the Virgin Mary the incidents attributed by John the Evangelist (xx. 1-19) to Mary Magdalene. The same thing is done by the author of the *Martyrdom of Pilate*. See below, p. 245.

[6] M. 127 has: ". . . as He had said to His mother. I will precede you to Galilee." This is of course more in harmony with Matt. xxviii. 7.

to-day at the sepulchre. Summon the soldiers, one by one, so that they may relate His story to us, before any of us goes there." And Pilate said to them "I heard that He rose from the dead. I believe what I saw in a vision that Jesus rose this day from the dead. By the life of the Emperor and by the law of Moses I do not lie when I say that I saw Him last night while I was lying in my bed, and was grieved at the fact that I had laid hands on Him, and thought that perchance He may be the Son of God on account of the signs that appeared in heaven when He died on the cross. I saw Him standing and shining more than the sun. All the town, except the gathering-place of the Jews, shone with His light more than the light of the sun. And He said to me :

'O Pilate, why are you weeping because you ordered Jesus to be flogged? What is written about Him has been fulfilled. Return to me, and I will forgive you. I am Jesus who died on the cross. I am Jesus who rose to-day[1] from the dead. This light which you see to-day is the glory of my resurrection which has enlightened all the world with joy. Look well, O Pilate, and see that this sign which shines on the inhabited earth is more luminous than the light of the sun and is to convince you that I rose from the dead. Hasten to my tomb and you will see the wrappings lying in it guarded by angels. Kiss them and worship them. Fight for my resurrection and you will witness many miracles to-day at the sepulchre : the lame shall walk, the blind shall see, and the dead shall rise by my power.[2] O Pilate, you will shine in the light of my resurrection, which the Jews will deny.'"

When Pilate uttered these words in his house the Jews raised their voices and said : "O our lord, the emir,[3] it is not necessary to relate all this to the people, as it is nothing but a dream. The law says, 'At the mouth of two or three witnesses every word is established' ;[4] instead of three witnesses, lo there are four who guarded the tomb. If these tell you that He rose, their words are true, and if they do not do so, we shall have nothing to do with dreams."

Then Pilate summoned the four soldiers and said to them : "What

[1] M. 127 omits "to-day."

[2] M. 87 : "and the dead lo I shall raise by my death."

[3] The word *emir* is here the translation of the Coptic word meaning ἡγεμών, *præses*. See *Pat. Orient.* ii., 171.

[4] Deut. xvii. 6 ; xix. 15 ; Matt. xviii. 16.

happened to-day at the sepulchre?" And they divided curse among themselves and lied and said that He did not rise but was carried away. And Pilate ordered that they should be separated from one another in different places. The first one was then ushered in, and Pilate said to him: "Tell me the truth who carried away the body of Jesus?" And he answered: "Peter and John." And the Governor ordered him to be removed to a place by himself. Then he summoned the second one and said to him: "I know that you do not speak but the truth, tell me which of the apostles carried away the body of Jesus from the tomb?" And he answered: "The eleven apostles came with His disciples[1] and carried Him away by stealth." And Pilate ordered that this one also should be removed to a place by himself. He then summoned the third one and said to him: "I value your testimony more than that of all the others, tell me who carried away the body of Jesus from the sepulchre?" And he answered: "Joseph and Nicodemus."[2]

Pilate then called the fourth one and said to him: "You are the head of these soldiers and I confided them to you. Disclose to me now all what took place, and how they removed the body of Jesus from the tomb while you were guarding it." And he answered: "O our Lord the emir, we were asleep and we do not know who carried it away. When we woke up we looked for it and found it below the water which is in the garden, and we said that they did this, out of fear."

Then Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion: "Are these words consistent? Are they not sustained by lies?" And he ordered that the soldiers should be kept under guard until he had gone himself to the tomb. Then he arose with the high priests and the heads of the soldiers[3] and went to the tomb. They found the wrappings lying in the tomb[4] without the body.[5] And Pilate said: "O men who hate their own life, if they had taken away the body would they not have taken the wrappings with it?" And (the Jews) answered: "See, these wrappings do not belong to Him, but to some one else." And Pilate recalled the words of Jesus to him that

[1] M. 127 omits: "with His disciples."
[2] M. 87 adds: "And the rest of their relations."
[3] M. 87, "and the heads and the soldiers."
[4] M. 127 omits "in the tomb." [5] Lit. "without any man."

great miracles will take place in the sepulchre, and he hastened and entered into it, and took the wrappings, that is to say the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy.

Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the entrance of the tomb, and who was with one eye only as his other eye had been put out in a war, and a considerable time had elapsed without him having seen anything with it. Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the centurion's eye and with this thought he presented the wrappings to him and said: "O my brother, do you not perceive the exquisiteness of the odour of these wrappings and see as if they were sprinkled with perfume and incense?"[1]

And the Jews said: "O Pilate, you know that Joseph placed on Him much perfume and incense, and that they shrouded Him with myrrh and sweet spices of aloe, and this sweet scent comes from them." And Pilate said to them: "If they placed perfumes on the wrappings only, why is all this tomb perfumed with musk and sweet spices of high value and exquisite odour?" And they answered: "The scent that you are smelling is the odour of the flowers of the gardens, wafted by the winds."[2] And Pilate replied to them: "You have trodden on the path of perdition for yourselves, have walked in it and fallen in a place from which you will have no deliverance for ever." And they said to him: "Nothing is due to you from us, and you had no right to come to the tomb of this man. You are the Governor of the City[3] and not of this tomb. Lo, the High Priests and the heads of the Jews are cognisant of the affair, and it does not behove you to fight the Jews for the sake of a dead man."

And Pilate said to the centurion: "O brother, do you not notice the bitterness of the hatred that the Jews have for the Lord Jesus? We have acted according to their desires and have crucified Him, and all the world was on the brink of ruin and destruction on account of their injustice. They want us now to stumble on their sin and aver that He has not risen from the dead, in order that His wrath

[1] M. 87 omits "and incense."

[2] M. 127 omits the last sentence.

[3] M. 87, "to those who are in need in it; and they have not made you the Governor of this tomb."

may come back on us[1] another time and destroy us completely.' Pilate uttered these words to the centurion while holding the wrappings with his hands and embracing them. Then he said: "I believe that the body which has been wrapped in you rose from the dead." And the centurion also had faith like Pilate, and seizing the wrappings he embraced them, and when they touched his face he immediately saw with the blind eye as before, as if Jesus had laid His hand on it as He had done with the man who was born blind.

How great was the spectacle of the multitudes who had also gone to the tomb! They were from all countries, and they had come to Jerusalem for the Passover, and seen (Jesus) on the cross on the day of the crucifixion. When they had heard that Pilate had gone to the sepulchre to see whether Jesus had risen, they also had come with the expectation that He might rise and appear to them like Lazarus. This is the reason why great multitudes had come to the tomb of Jesus in order to see Him. And they beheld the great miracles and how the centurion saw, and were amazed at what (Jesus) had done.

And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, observe the miracles of Jesus in His tomb apart from the miracles that took place at His death on the cross." And the centurion tore up his clothes in order the better to show his joy and the favour[2] which he had received, and said: "The power of Jesus has been made manifest. He is truly God and Son of God, and I have believed in Him. My faith has increased from the fact that He being God rose from the dead. I shall not serve a king any more, but solely my God Jesus."[3] And he threw away his sword and gave up his military career.[4] While the wrappings were twisted round his hands he ran to this place and that place and embraced them. And Pilate was greatly amazed and glorified God.

And the Jews said to the centurion: "You are a stranger, and you do not know the deeds done by Jesus through Beel-Zebul.[5]

[1] M. 127, "So that He may send His wrath against us."
[2] M. 87, "all the grace." [3] M. 127 adds, "Christ."
[4] M. 87, "and the shield of his military career."
[5] See my note above and compare the following: "And the Jews said (to Pilate): "He is a sorcerer and it is in the name of Beelzebub, prince of the demons, that he drives away demons," *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i., 1103 and 1106; James' *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 96. This is of course inspired from Matt. xii. 24, Luke xi. 15.

What He did in His life He is now doing at His death." And they added: "When a sorcerer dies, the Genii[1] do other deeds in his grave and they deceive many people through them. These deeds are indeed those of sorcerers and conjurers." And Pilate said to them: "We have never heard that sorcerers and conjurers performed such miracles. Since you are heaping[2] lies out of your own mind on the life of the Lord, His wrath will come on you." And they said: "We deliver our souls to judgment, may His blood be on[3] us and our children for ever and ever." And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, do not exchange cheaply the great gift which you have received for the lie of the hatred of the Jews."

Then Pilate turned to the Jews and said to them: "Where is the dead man who, you said, was Jesus? It is perchance He." And the Jews preceded Pilate and the centurion to the well which was in the garden, and it was a deep well. And I Gamaliel was following with the crowd. And they went down to the bottom of the well, and found in it the dead man shrouded and laid in a separate place. And the Jews shouted: "Here is the Nazarene sorcerer who gave us so much trouble! You say that He rose, and He is at the bottom of the well!" And Pilate ordered them to draw him up, and summoned Joseph and Nicodemus and said to them: "Are these the wrappings with which you shrouded the body of Jesus?" And they answered: "The wrappings which you are holding in your hands are those of Jesus. As to this corpse it is that of the robber who was crucified with Jesus." And the company of the Jews[4] threw themselves on Joseph and Nicodemus wishing to cast them into the depth of the well because they had spoken the truth. They would have done it were it not for the fact that Pilate and his soldiers shielded them.

[1] This word seems at first sight to denote a post-Islamic author. It must, however, be remembered that the word *Jinn* is found in Ethiopic in the sense of "demon," "evil spirit." Further, the word in the mind of the author may have been "demon, evil spirit" and the translator—in case the document is a translation by Cyriacus—may have used an Arabic word that was better understood by his readers.

[2] Cod. "prophesying."

[3] M. 87, "But they delivered their souls to judgment saying: 'May His blood and His death be on them.'"

[4] M. 127, "All the Jews."

When Pilate noticed their confusion and their cry he beckoned to them to be quiet. He had full confidence in the words spoken to him by the Lord Jesus to the effect that dead men would rise from His tomb. He summoned, therefore, the heads of the Jews and said to them: "We do not believe at all that this is Jesus of Nazareth." And they replied to him: "If you believe it or do not believe it,[1] we do believe it." And he said to them: "It is right then that we should leave him in his tomb like other dead men." And he summoned Joseph and Nicodemus another time and said to them: "Shroud him with these wrappings as before." And the Jews shouted: "We do not accept Joseph, and Nicodemus has[2] no portion with us, because his[3] portion is with Jesus." And Pilate said: "I have greater right."[4]

Then they took the wrappings that belonged to the Lord Jesus and shrouded[5] the body of that dead man with them. And Pilate and his soldiers lifted it and placed it in the tomb in which Jesus lay. And he ordered the people to place the stone at the entrance of the tomb as they had done in the case of Jesus. Then Pilate stretched his hands and prayed at the door of the sepulchre and said thus:—

"I implore you to-day, O Lord Jesus. You are the resurrection and the life, the giver of life to all and to the dead. I believe that you rose again as you appeared to me. Do not judge me, O my Lord, because I am doing this. I have not done it from fear of the Jews, nor to test your resurrection. O my Lord, I have confidence in your words and in the miracles which you have wrought. You are living because you raised many dead men. Now, O my Lord, do not be angry with me because I placed a foreign corpse in the place in which lay your body. I did this to put to shame and confusion those who deny your resurrection. To them belong shame and confusion for ever and ever, and to you are due glory and honour from the mouth of your servant Pilate for ever and for ever and ever."[6]

[1] M. 127 omits "or do not believe it."

[2] M. 127: "We do not accept Joseph and Nicodemus because they have no portion with us."

[3] M. 127: "their." [4] M. 127 adds: "than they."

[5] Under the influence of Syriac the text places the pronoun before the noun immediately after the verb, which is contrary to the genius of the Arabic language.

[6] M. 127 adds: "Amen."

When Pilate recited this prayer with outstretched hands at the tomb, a voice came from the dead man saying: "O my lord Pilate, open to me the door of the tomb in order that I may come out. I was the first to open the door[1] of Paradise. Lift the stone, O my lord Pilate, so that I may come out by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ who rose from the dead."

And Pilate shouted with jubilation on account of the joy and happiness which filled his heart and his soul, to such an extent that the rocks echoed his voice. And he then ordered the people that were standing to lift the stone from the door of the tomb, and immediately the dead man came out walking, and he bowed before Pilate, the Governor. As to the Jews who were present, they were seized with panic, shame, and confusion, and ran away wailing secretly from their fear of the Governor.

And Pilate ordered all the soldiers to pursue the Jews and strike them with the swords which they were holding, and they wounded many of them. Then Pilate turned to the dead man and said to him: "O my son, who raised you in this short time? It is only in case Jesus was with you that He would have been able to raise you so quickly." And the dead man[2] said to him: "Did you not see the great light that shone? The Lord Jesus raised me while you were praying, and spoke to me saying, 'Tell my beloved Pilate to fight for my resurrection because I have decided to appoint him his portion in Paradise[3] as I appointed to you. It is imperative that they should condemn him as they have condemned me, before they take off his head.'"

And Pilate said to him: "From where are you,[4] and who threw you in this well?" And the robber replied, saying: "I am the robber who has been crucified at His right. I have been deemed worthy of all favours and gifts before my Lord Jesus Christ because of the few comforting words that I uttered while He was on the wood of the cross. I was the first one to rise from the tomb of Jesus, O my lord Pilate, and as you opened to me the door of His sepulchre, so He opened to me the door of Paradise. I recognise this high perfume as it is from the tree of life which my soul is enjoying."

[1] M. 127 omits "door."
[2] M. 87, "and he."
[3] M. 87, "to appoint him his portion from the tree of life."
[4] M. 127, "From which tribe are you?"

At that moment I Gamaliel followed the crowd and my fathers Joseph and Nicodemus, because fear did not allow the Apostles to come to the sepulchre and witness what happened to Him. They were hiding in every place from fear of the Jews. I, Gamaliel, walked with the crowds and witnessed all what happened in the tomb of my Lord Jesus,[1] and the great fight that Pilate undertook against the High Priests,[2] who returned to town with haste, pressing against one another on account of His resurrection from the dead, while Pilate was holding the wrappings on his arms. And the multitudes wished to see those men who had come to town on the occasion of the feast of the Passover from every district and from every tribe.

Then Pilate repaired to the house of the High Priest along with the crowd, and they demolished it and plundered all what he[3] had. And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother,[4] you saw with your own eyes and heard (with your own ears) the great number of people who believed in Jesus Christ on account of the resplendent miracles witnessed also by the wicked and accursed Jews, who did not believe."

Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These (words) have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city, and in all the districts that surround it, by the grace and love[5] of our Lord and God Jesus Christ to whom are due glory, power, and honour[6] for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends this great discourse. May God have mercy upon the scribe, the reader, the attentive hearers, and all the believers! Amen. Amen. Amen.

[1] M. 127 omits "of my Lord Jesus."
[2] M. 127 adds "the accursed."
[3] M. 127, "they."
[4] M. 87 omits "O my brother."
[5] M. 87, "and the love of men which belongs to."
[6] M. 87 omits "power and honour."

[1] ... [2] ...

... [3] ... [4] ...

... [5] ... [6] ... [7] ... [8] ... [9]. ... [10] ... [11] ...

[12] ... [13] ... [14] ... [15] ...

[1] Adds ... . [2] Adds ... . [3] Adds ... . [4] ... . [5] Omits. [6] ... . [7] Omits. [8] ... . [9] Omits. [10] Omits. [11] Adds ... . [12] ... . [13] ... . [14] ... . [15] ... .

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ

[1] Omits. [2] Omits. [3] Add. [4] Add. [5] Add. [6] Add. [7] Omits. [8] Add. [9] Add. [10] Add. [11] Add.

[1]ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܝ ܡܬܝ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܥܐ ܕܢ

ما ؤجرا كما . حكم ابعد حصر حكم حدّ ابلاحكم حبؤ الله ما
ما:حدم حدم ؤكبد هاهم حدم ابد سلم كد ما حكمك ابد حدم ابد حدم ؤهاهم
حكمك ؤابد هاهم ما حبؤ حكم كما [حدم] [1]. ابحا
ما:حدم ؤابد هاهم ما حبؤ حكم كما [حدم] [2]. ؤابا الله ؤا ابحا:
هاهم ما حكمك ابحكم حكم ؤا:حدم ؤاهحكم ؤا:حدم [ك] [3] هبحا.
ابحا حد كد كلاهم حكما ؤا:حد ؤاهحكم حكم ؤا:حدم [حدم كد] [4] ابحا
ما:حدم ؤابد هاهم ما حكمك ابحكم حكم ؤا:حدم [كلاهحكم] [5] حكما ؤا:حد حكمك
حكما حكمك ابحكم حكم [اهحم] [6] ما هاهم [ماحم] [7] ابحا
ما:حدم [ابا] [9] ما هاهم [ابحكم كلاهحكم] [8] ابحا حد هبحا. ؤابحا
ما:حدم [حدم] [10] هاهم اد كد كلاهم حكما ؤا:حد حكما حكم ؤا:حدم [ابحا]
حكم ابحا هاهم ما:حدم [ابحا] [11]. [ما] [12] ابحكم [ؤا:حدم] [13] ابحا
ابحا [حد حكم ا ؤا:حدم] [14].

حكم ما هاهم ا ابحا حد ما حد هبحا حد كد هبحا ما حكم
ما:حدم ؤابد هاهم ما حكمك ابحكم حكم ؤا:حدم [ابحا] [15]. ؤا كلاهحكم ما
ابحكم ابحا حد ؤا:حد [حدم] [16] حكما ؤابد هاهم ما حكمك ابحكم حكم
[ؤا:حدم هبحا ؤا:حد] ما:حدم هاهم [17].

حكما ابحكم ابحا حد ؤا:حد [ؤاحدم] [18] حد حد ؤابد ابحكم ؤاهم
ابحا حكم ابحا حد ؤا:حد حكما ابحا ؤجرا حكم ابحا ؤاحدم ؤاحدم

[1] ابحا. [2] ابحا. [3] ؤا حد. [4] ؤابحا. [5] كلاهحكم.
[6] Omits. [7] ماحم. [8] ما:حدم حد:ؤا. [9] Omits. [10] Omits.
[11] ما:حدم. [12] ما. [13] ابحا:ؤ. [14] ما:حدم حكما. [15] حكم
حكما ما:حدم. [16] كلاهحكم. [17] هبحا ؤا:حد حكم. [18] ابحاحد حد.

ܟܠ ܗܘ . [1][ܗܘܐ] ܕܢܟ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܡܢ ܟܢܝ ܫܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܟ
ܫܡ ܟܟܢܝ ܫ ܐܡ ܠ ܙܕܡ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܙܕܡ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܗܢ
ܠܢ ܡܕܟܡ ܒܟ ܐܡ ܟܕ [2][ܟܗ ܫܠ] ܟܡ ܡܕܟ ܟܡ
ܕ ܫ ܫܐܪ ܟܡ ܡܕ ܗܢ ܡܕ ܟܕ ܐ ܟܡ ܡܕ ܡܕ
ܗ ܠ ܗ ܟ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܗ ܟ ܗ ܟ ܗ

[1] Omits. [2] Omits. [3] مصلوبة. [4] ومصلوب الجنب.
[5] Adds كمثل ومن ماثيل الأمم. [6] Omits. [7] هو. [8] Adds
الجنب. [9] فاعلك. [10] Omits. [11] لأن. [12] من. [13] Omits.
[14] هذا. [15] مسيح. [16] سماوية.

ܟܠ ܐ[1]ܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܬܕܥ ܠܐ

[1] Adds هد. [2] مدد. [3] كمل. [4] Omits. [5] Omits. [6] امزيز.
[7] امدد. [8] Omits. [9] لمومد. [10] هدد. [11] مصمد.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ

[1] [omit] ... [2] [omit] ... [3] ... [4] [omit] ... [5] [omit] ... [6] [omit] ... [7] [omit] ... [8] [omit] ... [9] [omit] ... [10] [omit] ... [11] [omit] ... [12] [omit] ... [13] [omit] ...

[1] Omits. [2] Adds ... [3] Adds ... [4] [omit]. [5] [omit]. [6] Omits. [7] [omit]. [8] [omit]. [9] Omits. [10] Omits. [11] [omit]. [12] [omit]. [13] [omit].

[1]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܟܚ

ܐܘܪܗܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝ ܕܐܬ ܠܡ ܐܝ ܕܐܬ ܠܡ ܐܝ ܕܐܬ ܠܡ

ܡܢ ܕܐܡ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ

[ما][9] ولد محمد الكريم. وإن محمد ما [وكبر][10] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible

[ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܫܠܝܚ ܠܟܘܢ][1] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܒܐ ܐܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܫ ܕܝܠܡܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ

ا حصد ميكر حد ٥٥٥٥٥ معزهم اهصد ٥٥٥٥٥ حد ٥٥٥٥٥ ا
حد ٥٥٥٥٥ حد ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥

ܟ ¹[ܐܠ] ܥܡܝܩ . ܫܡ ܟ ܐ ܡ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܕ ܐܚ
ܟ ܐܠ ܥܡܝܩ . ܐܝܟ ܕ ²[ܒ] ܐ ܒ ܕ
ܐ ³[ܕ] ܐ ܒ ܕ ⁴[ܕ] ܟ . ܕ ܒ ܐ
ܕ ⁵[ ] ⁶ . ⁷[ ] ⁸ .

ܐ ⁹[ ] ¹⁰ . ¹¹[ ] ¹² ¹³[ ] ¹⁴[ ]
ܟ ¹⁵[ ] ¹⁶ . ¹⁷[ ] ¹⁸[ ] ¹⁹[ ]
ܐ ²⁰[ ] .

¹ ܐܠ. ² ܕ ܐ. ³ Omits. ⁴ ܕ .
⁵ ܕ . ⁶ . ⁷ ܐ. ⁸ Omits. ⁹ Omits.
¹⁰ Omits. ¹¹ Omits. ¹² ܐ. ¹³ Omits. ¹⁴ Omits. ¹⁵ ܐ
. ¹⁶ Omits. ¹⁷ ܐ. ¹⁸ ܐ. ¹⁹ Omits.
²⁰ Adds ܟ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܕ .

[1] Omits. [2] Omits. [3] Omits. [4] Omits. [5] تعصد. [6] Omits. [7] ولاتزه. [8] Omits.

[omits] ... [adds] ... [omits] ... [adds] ... [omits] ... [adds] ... [

[1]على. [2]:الصلاة. [3]Omits. [4]في. [5]على كل.
[6]Adds الذين. [7]أنا لا أعلم الصلاة. [8]Adds الله.
[9]الخوف. [10]Omits. [11]الصوم. [12]Adds في. [13]الصلاة
الواجبة الأعلى. [14]الصلاة الكبرى. [15]لأن. [16]Adds في.

الصلاة هو العلامة التي أعطاني الرب أن أعلم بها أنه يحبني
في كل ما أعمل من الخير. فإن كنت أعلم أنه يحبني فإني
أعلم أنه سيعطيني كل ما أطلب منه. لأن الرب قال لنا
[1]في الإنجيل إن كل ما طلبتم من الآب باسمي فإنه يعطيكم.
لأن الآب يحب الابن لأنه أعطاه كل ما يريد. وأنا أعلم
أن الرب يحبني لأنه يعطيني كل ما أطلب منه

[1]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ

[1] ما صكهه كح ٦هر حمة صاهده. ولما كمنوة
حمحمه.

وحمل ولحا حمحمه حمحمه لاك لحمه حكما ابعد
كح ابه وحما وحمحمه ولحمحه ولحمحه ولحمحه
ولحمحه ٦ح٥هه. حمك ما هذا الامر حا ابه وحما وحمحمه
حمحمه الا ما كح حم ابه وحما وحمحمه ولحمحه
ولحمحه ٦ح٥هه. حمك ما هذا الامر حا ابه وحما وحمحم

[1] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܗܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ

[1] Omits ⲙⲡⲉ. [2] Adds ⲙⲛ. [3] Omits. [4] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ. [5] Omits [6] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲉ. [7] Adds ⲙⲛ. [8] ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲧⲟⲕⲟⲥ. [9] ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ. [10] ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ. [11] ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ. [12] Adds ⲙⲛ. [13] Omits [14] ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁⲓ. [15] ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ. [16] Adds ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ. [17] ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ. [18] ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ, and so generally. [19] ⲑⲉⲟⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ. [20] Omits.

ܗܘ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܟ

ﻣﺎﺭﻱ ﺍﻟﺴﻴﺪﺓ ﺍﻟﻌﺬﺭﺍ [ﺍﻟﻤﺒﺎﺭﻛﺔ] ﻻ ﺗﺒﻜﻲ ﻭﻻ ﺗﺤﺰﻧﻲ ﻷﻧﻲ ﺳﻮﻑ ﺃﻗﻮﻡ ﻭﺃﺭﺟﻊ ﺇﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﺤﻴﺎﺓ [ﻛﻤﺎ ﻗﺎﻟﺖ][1].

ﻭﻟﻤﺎ ﺳﻤﻌﺖ ﺍﻟﻌﺬﺭﺍ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﻜﻼﻡ ﻣﻦ ﺍﺑﻨﻬﺎ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻴﺢ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﻗﺎﻟﺖ ﻟﻪ ﻳﺎ ﺍﺑﻨﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻱ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻱ [ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻱ] ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻜﻠﻤﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﻛﺎﻧﺖ ﻗﺒﻞ ﺍﻟﺪﻫﻮﺭ ﻭﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻟﻴﺲ ﻟﻪ ﺍﺑﺘﺪﺍﺀ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻧﺘﻬﺎﺀ ﻭﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻟﻴﺲ ﻟﻪ ﺷﺒﻴﻪ ﻭﻻ ﻣﺜﻴﻞ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻤﻜﻦ ﺃﻥ ﻳﻮﺻﻒ ﻭﻻ ﻳﺪﺭﻙ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻌﺮﻑ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻔﺤﺺ ﻭﻻ ﻳﺴﺘﻘﺼﻰ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻌﺮﻑ ﻭﻻ ﻳﺤﺪ ﻭﻻ ﻳﺤﺼﻰ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܬ

[1]ܐܗܠܝ ܐܠܗܝ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܬܠܐ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܝܠܗ [2]ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܬܠܐ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܝܠܗ [3]ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܬܠܐ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܝܠܗ

[1] Omits. [2] Adds ܕܡ. [3] Adds ܕܡܠܐ: [4] Adds ܒ.
[5] Omits. [6] ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ ܕܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ. [7] Omits. [8] Adds
ܐܢ ܠ. [9] Adds ܥܠ. [10] ܒܡܠܐ ܐܚܪ. [11] Adds ܒܟܠ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܠܐ ܒܟܠܡܐ.

II. Martyrdom of Pilate.

Prefatory Note.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an apocryphal document entitled *Martyrdom of Pilate.* Like the previous document it is attributed to Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real author of all its historical narrative is, as we learn from the beginning and the end of the story and from some passages found in the middle of it, Gamaliel himself. We may, therefore, consider it as a second Gamaliel apocryphon.

I have edited the text from three independent MSS. Two of them belong to my own collection of MSS. and are numbered Mingana Syr. 127 and Mingana Syr. 355 (hereafter M. 127 and M. 355). The third MS. is Paris Arab. 152[1] (hereafter P.). M. 127 and M. 355 are written in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) and P. is in Arabic characters.[2] From notes that I have ventured to write at the foot of the following pages, it will be seen that I believe that M. 355 is transcribed from a MS. which was in Arabic characters. The same conclusion may to some extent be reached with regard to M. 127.

I have placed the text of M. 127 in the body of the page and the variants of M. 355 and P. in the footnotes. I have transcribed each MS. in the characters in which it was found, *viz.* M. 127 and M. 355 in Garshūni, and P. in Arabic. I have given almost all the variants of M. 355, but in order not to render the text of the notes very bulky I have noted only the most important variants of P. In the final section, however, which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome—a section which is completely missing in M. 127—I registered also nearly all the variants of P. As there were only two MSS. to be dealt with, the footnotes did not appear to me to be abnormally bulky by the adoption of such a method.

[1] P. 35 in Baron de Slane's *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes.* In the "ancient fonds" the number of the MS. was 160.

[2] About *Cod. Vat. Syr.* 199, see below.

I have also read *Cod. Vat. Syr.* 199 which is in Garshūni like my own MSS. I noticed that it follows generally either M. 127 or M. 355, and that only occasionally it agrees with P.[1]

I adopted also the above method for another and a more cogent reason. The variant readings exhibited by the three MSS. are so numerous, so varied in character and so important that I have come to the conclusion that they represent three more or less different recensions of the story, and that P. was executed with an eye on the interest of Egyptian Christians. Now to condense in a single narrative the text of three different recensions of a story is almost an impossibility. The problem could have been better solved if I had edited separately the text of all M. 127, all M. 355, and all P. as I did in the case of the *Apocryphal Jeremiah*[2] but the story did not appear to me to be of such importance as to justify this course.

M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683), and it is the same MS. as that which contains the above documents dealing with the Virgin Mary and the death and resurrection of Christ or the *Lament of the Virgin* as I have called it. M. 355 has no date, but may be ascribed to about A.D. 1800. P. is assigned by Baron de Slane to the 16th Christian century, which is probable, with the sole reservation that I am tempted to place it towards the end rather than the beginning or the middle of the 16th century.

In the translation I only registered in the footnotes the most important variants which seemed to me likely to throw light on the sources of the author. Further, I did not attempt to correct the numerous lexicographical and grammatical mistakes found in the text of the three MSS. for reasons given in the preface of the previous document.

The document appears to me to be, like its predecessors, exclusively

[1] The photographs of the pages of the MS. were kindly communicated by Mr. Crum, but they came to me too late to be utilised for the text. To give the reader a fairly accurate idea of the peculiarities of the MS. I placed at the end of the edition the important variants of the first half of the story, but I have done this only in cases in which V. 199—as we may call the MS. —differs from the other three MSS. which I have utilised for my edition. It will be useful here to remark that V. 199 contains (against M. 127) the final part of the story which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome.

[2] In my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 148-233.

Coptic in origin. Among the Christian Churches of the East it is only the Coptic Church that considers Pilate as a saint and holds a feast in his honour. The Syrian Churches while not so hostile to Pilate as the Western Churches, do not certainly go so far as to make a saint of him, in spite of the fact that a West Syrian Patriarch bore the name *Pilate*.[1]

That the document falls within the circle of the *Acta Pilati* and the Ἀναφορά Πιλάτου goes without saying.[2] The *Anaphora* seems to presuppose the *Acta*, itself later than the παράδοσις Πιλάτου which relates, like the present document, that the Emperor summoned Pilate to Rome to answer for the crucifixion of Jesus, and there condemned him to death. In my opinion all these Greek documents emanate also from Egypt, and Egypt alone. They have nothing to do with Syria and Palestine, and have very little in common with the Churches of the West.

The reader will doubtless notice from my foot-notes that I have compared the present document with the Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic apocrypha so ably edited and translated by Budge, and also with some other parallel documents.

Translation.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will begin with the help and assistance of God to write the history[3] of Pilate, the Governor of the City of Jerusalem.[4] May his prayers be with the children of baptism. Amen.

[1] Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 325. The tradition of the Ethiopic Church is to the effect that Pilate reported Longinus (one of the soldiers who had crucified Jesus) to Tiberius, who had him brought and tortured. See *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (edit. Budge), iv. 1146.

[2] The two redactions of these two documents are edited by Tischenodorf in his *Evang. Apocr.*, p. 433 sqq. (2nd edit.). All these Greek documents are either analysed or translated in M. R. James' useful and handy work: *The Apocryphal New Testament.*

[3] P. calls the story: "Martyrdom of Pilate" immediately after the doxology.

[4] P. and M. 127 often write the word Jerusalem with a *yodh* at the beginning in the Hebrew way instead of an *Alaph* according to the Arabic and Syriac mode of writing. This tends to prove their Egyptian origin. See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 153.

A treatise composed by the holy Cyriacus,[1] bishop of the town of Bahnasa,[2] on the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, and on the tribulations undergone by Pontius[3] Pilate in the holy city, at the time of the crucifixion. In it he makes mention also of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and of the persecution suffered by Pilate at the hand of the Jews for the name of Christ—to whom be glory and worship—and of the torments inflicted on him by Herod before he was sent by the latter to the Metropolis, the great city of Rome, where his head was cut off and his martyrdom completed.[4] The story is told as found in the copy written by Gamaliel and Horus,[5] the good, pious, and respectable teachers in all things dealing with God. They wrote it, because they were present with Joseph and Nicodemus and witnessed the ordeals of Christ which became the source of our life, and His glorious resurrection. They related that they wrote this martyrdom[6] after the prodigies and miracles that took place in the tomb of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, consequent upon His resurrection from the dead, and at the end of the machinations and intrigues of the wicked Jews. May the peace of God be with us. Amen.

When our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified in the place called *Kranion*,[7] which being interpreted means a row of stones—and it is

[1] P. has *Hyriacus* or *Horiacus* and so also M. 355 prima manu. See about him in my note above, p. 182, About the child Horus or Harpokrates see Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 184.

[2] See the previous document, p. 182.

[3] An unusually bad error has been committed by Baron de Slane in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* (de la Bibliothèque Nationale), p. 35. Having read the word *Bunṭi* as *Nabaṭi* (in Arabic characters the simple transposition of the dot of *nūn* and *bā'*), he translated the sentence as "Pilate le *Nabatéen*" instead of "*Pontius Pilate.*"

[4] M. 127 has "where Andrew Pilate."

[5] P. gives the name as *Anaius* (Anāyos). This Anaius appears to me to be the man called Aeneas in the Coptic fragments of the Gospel of Nicodemus (James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 95), where he states that he was the "Protector of prætorian rank, learned in the law" and avers that he translated from Hebrew into Greek, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, the memorials concerning Jesus, which were deposited with Pontius Pilate. See Aeneas' own preface to the Coptic *Acta Pilati* in *Pat. Orient.*, ix., p. 65 sqq.

[6] Or "this confession."

[7] *Al-akrānion* (Calvary). Here as in the preceding treatise, the author is transliterating the Greek κρανίον.

the Golgotha[1]—the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus got possession of His body and placed it in a new tomb. The Virgin Mary began then to weep and to show a keen desire to go to the tomb of her Son, but she could not do so from fear of the Jews, because it was the Sabbath Day, which follows Friday, and in it no one was allowed to proceed anywhere or to undertake any work. When the morning of Sunday arrived Mary took with her other women[2] who carried with them sweet spices and perfumes with which to anoint the tomb of the Saviour. And Mary[3] preceded the other women who followed her to the sepulchre early in the morning.

When she[4] reached the sepulchre she found the stone rolled away from it, and while in a state of amazement, she looked into the place in which lay the body of Jesus, but did not find it; she found, however, the linen clothes lying there, and the napkin that was over the head separated from the linen clothes and wrapped together in a place by itself. She saw also two angels in white sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet.[5]

While she was weeping she turned herself back and saw the Saviour standing, and He said to her: "Woman, why are you weeping?" She, supposing Him to be the gardener answered Him saying: "Sir, if you have borne Him hence tell me where you have laid Him, and I will go and take Him away. And the Saviour said to her: "O Mary." And she answered and said "Rabboni"—which is to say My Master. "You rose, O my Son and my God, and your resurrection is magnificent, because you rose and granted salvation to the human kind, but O my Son and my God, I am

[1] The author has used the Greek and the Semitic form of the Calvary. I can find no probable support for his interpretation "Row of Stones."

[2] M. 355 and M. 127 mention here their names which are Mary Magdalene and Salome.

[3] M. 355 adds here "Magdalene" which seems to contradict the trend of the narrative of the story. There is no doubt that the document, against John xxi. 18, believes that it was the Virgin Mary and not Mary Magdalene that went first to the sepulchre. This error is also committed by the author of the so-called *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (*Pat. Orient.*, ii., p. 130).

[4] M. 127 uses here the plural form: They reached, they found.

[5] *Cf.* John xx. 7. M. 127 and partly M. 355 add here: "And the angels said to her, 'What ails thee and why seekest thou the living among the dead?" (Luke xxiv. 5).

amazed at your having allowed[1] these wicked people to inflict on you all these sufferings." And the Saviour said to her, "I have already told you all this before it happened."

And when His mother heard what He said to her and ascertained that it was He, she rejoiced and wished ardently to go near Him and worship Him. She was indeed so overjoyed that she thought she was dreaming. But He said to her: "Do not come near Me, because I have not gone yet to My Father. This is the reason why no corporeal being is able to approach Me and touch Me. Go you rather to My brethren and announce to them this joy which you have witnessed, and tell them to go to Galilee where they shall see Me.[2] Lo, I have told you." Then the Virgin Mary began to ask the Saviour, her Son, concerning the events that took place at the hands of the wicked Jews on the day of the Crucifixion, when He was hanging on the wood of the Cross and she was standing near Him and weeping, and He explained to her all the events that she had witnessed, one by one.

She said to Him: "O my beloved Son, O Life of my spirit and Master of my soul and body, why did you cry and say on the wood of the Cross, 'Eloi, Eloi, why hast thou forsaken me?'[3] And also, 'Scripture is fulfilled,' and also 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.'"[4] And He answered and said to her: "O my beloved mother, I cried to the Father with a sigh, like an only Son to His Father, and asked Him to allow Me to die,[5] in order to redeem with My death the death of Adam whom sin had killed and whom the sentence of death had cast into Hades. Yes, O mother, I cried to the Father and implored Him to look upon My humiliation and have pity on Adam and grant him another grace. And when I remembered his hunger and thirst I said, 'I thirst,'[6] and asked the Father on his behalf to quench his thirst from the water of the eternal life. When my side was pierced with a spear,[7] and I drank the cup[8] which all men are bound to drink, I asked the Father that on the day of my rising from the dead I might raise Adam from the death of sin, since I was pierced in my side because of him.

[1] I follow here P. There are in these sentences profound discrepancies between the three MSS.

[2] *Cf.* Matt. xxviii. 7; Mark xvi. 7.

[3] Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 33.

[4] Luke xxiii. 46.

[5] I follow P. and M. 127.

[6] John xix. 28.

[7] John xix. 34.

[8] *Cf.* Matt. xxvi. 39.

"O my mother, the hierarchies of Heaven scoffed at Adam and complained about him to the Father saying, 'All this happened to your only Son because of an earthly man on whom you breathed the breath of life.' The Father, however, rebuked them and said 'This is the creation of my hand and I love Him more than you.' Hades complained[1] about him to Me and said, 'Let me cast him into the bottom of the pit,' but I rebuked it and said 'Shut up your mouth, you will no more rise and seize Adam and cast him into the depths. He does not deserve now to be with you for one single hour. I came now to break up and smash your doors and throw you to the lowest depths, and to raise Adam to the heights.'

"The tormenting angels of Hell whose habit is to turn towards the west began then to vociferate, and they kindled fires which they inflamed with pitch and sulphur and shouted concerning the sin of Adam and said: 'Let us destroy him and throw him to the great sufferings of the fire of Hell.' Further, when they heard my conversation with him at the time I was lifted on the wood of the Cross and my saying to him: 'O Adam, it is for your sake that all this has happened to me' they cried and said, 'Deliver him into our hands, sir, and we will do to him what he rightly deserves, and we will destroy him as if he had never existed.' I rebuked them, however, and sternly reproved them, and I disclosed to them the fact that I have shed My precious blood for him so that I might save him and give him a share in My Kingdom.

"O my mother, I remembered the sadness and sorrowfulness that fell to the lot of Paradise. I recalled, O my mother, the mournfulness of Paradise and the fact that it was empty from the time in which Adam was driven out of it. Through My Passion and My Crucifixion I meant to restore Adam to Paradise. Did you not know, then, O my mother, why I remained nine months in your womb, and do you not understand the cause of my coming into this world? Did you not know that the events about which the ancient prophets have prophesied had to take place? Did you not realise that all this had to happen and that I had to deliver the rest of the captives from the hands of the enemy, and bring them out of the prison of Hades?

[1] The future tense is generally used in the following sentences in M. 127 and M. 355. For some of the above details *cf.* the Coptic *Book of the Resurrection* by the Apostle Bartholomew in Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 197 and *passim*.

"I suffered all what I did suffer in order to elevate the elect to the heights of Heaven. I interceded with the Father on their behalf, not only by words but by the shedding of My blood on the Cross before you,[1] in order to deliver them and Adam their father from the evil consequences of his transgression. I do not hold him, therefore, responsible for the blasphemies uttered against Me for his sins, nor answerable for My thirst, for the crown of thorns which was placed on my head, for the hanging of my body on the wood of the Cross, and for the death which I accepted for him. On the contrary I asked the Father to forgive him all his sins. Have patience, O my mother, and I will ask the Father to tear up the written document of the slavery of Adam. O my mother, what would be the utility of this shedding of My blood on the earth if I did not raise this body to Heaven? In this day the heavenly beings will be reconciled with the terrestrial ones. Go now, in joy, O my mother, because I rose from the dead. I have demolished the wall of partitions[2] of Hades, and I have opened the door of Paradise for the thief at My right. I have also opened the door of Heaven before the angels[3] and they flapped their wings, the archangels girded their loins with their shining and majestic girdles, the heavenly powers danced with hymns and canticles, the Cherubim[4] and Seraphim began their glorifications, the Dominions desired to contemplate intensely the glory of My divinity, and the Thrones stood before the Throne."[5]

This is what the Saviour told His mother near the door of the tomb by way of consolation. He further said to her: "No corporeal man can touch Me because I am clad in an imperishable garment and immortal robe, till the time in which I shall ascend to My Father." When He uttered these words He disappeared from her sight and recommended her to tell His disciples to go to Galilee where they would see Him. When the women returned and narrated to the disciples the words which they had heard from the Saviour, they did not believe them, but fear did not allow them to show themselves to anyone until they repaired to Galilee.

[1] I follow P. in this sentence.

[2] *Cf.* Ephes. ii. 14.

[3] P., "The doors of heaven are to-day open before me."

[4] P. writes the word with a *shīn* instead of a *Kāf*. See my remark in the *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 188.

[5] There are some discrepancies here between the MSS. and some verbs are in the aorist tense.

When Pilate noticed all the miracles and prodigies that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour, he went to his house and prepared a great banquet for the poor and the needy on account of the joy that he experienced at the resurrection of the Saviour ; this was even more so in the case of Procula,[1] his wife, because she loved the Saviour intensely on account of what she had seen in her dream concerning Him. She had already made preparations to go and see the tomb in which the Saviour was placed in order to worship Him and know the precise spot in which His body was laid. A company of Jews, however, became cognisant of her plan and went and apprised their chiefs and told them that the wife of Pilate was in that very night proceeding to the tomb. These wicked people circulated the news among themselves, and after a conference, decided to lie in wait for her in order to seize her and kill Pilate.

They, therefore, summoned Barnābān,[2] the robber, and said to him : " We do not need to remind you of all the benefactions which we have showered on you. We set you free and delivered you from prison against the wish of the Governor, and we crucified Jesus of Nazareth in your place. We want you now to accompany us to-night to the tomb of Jesus and to do your best for us. It has come to our knowledge that that wicked foreigner, called Pilate, wishes to go with his wife and his children to the tomb of Jesus in order to worship Him. We will lie in wait for them and you will help us to kill them, destroy Pilate and plunder their possessions."

The affair appealed to Barnābān and pleased him exceedingly. He desired to possess something as he had come out of prison a pauper and a mendicant. When he heard, therefore, of possessions to plunder he was glad because he loved gold and silver. He was the brother of the wife of Judas who is from the wicked and perverse stock.[3] The

[1] Procula or Procla (in the text *Abrukala*) is also the name of the wife of Pilate in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i., 1105. See James' *Apocr. New Testament*, p. 155. That she became a Christian is a tradition confirmed by an author as early as Origen (*Hom. on Mt.*, 35). She is considered a saint in the Greek Church where she has a feast on October 27th. Some writers have even identified her with Claudia of 2 Tim. iv. 21. This, however, is a pure fiction.

[2] There seems to be no doubt that this *Barnābān* is the robber *Barabbas* of Matt. xvii. 17-26, etc., who has been preferred to Christ.

[3] Does he mean the stock of Herod or that of the Jews?

wife of Barnābān, the sister of Judas, used to urge her husband to ask his Master[1] to intervene and deliver her brother from prison. Judas asked this several times of the Saviour, who, however, did not pay any heed to his saying and neglected it, because He was aware of what the man was going to be. When the sister noticed that He did not speak on behalf of her brother, she forsook Him completely. This was also on account of what her husband used to steal from the bag.[2] She began then to pay visits to the wives of the priests and incite them to crucify the Saviour.

After this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate with his wife and his children and to plunder his possessions. When I Gamaliel learned the conspiracy of these wicked people I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathæa, who had shrouded the body of the Saviour, and I disclosed to him the conspiracy of the Jews and their evil plot. When he heard it he hastened to the court and informed Pilate, the Governor, of what the Jews had plotted and were about to do to him. Whereupon Pilate summoned a company of his troops and revealed to them what had taken place ; and he informed also the sentinels of the town and told them to be on their guard.

Then the God-loving Procula, wife of Pilate, arose in the night, took with her her maid-servants, her ladies-in-waiting and a number of private attendants[3] and proceeded to the tomb of the Saviour. She worshipped in the tomb and spread on it and also on the wood of the holy Cross perfumes of high value and sweet spices of exquisite scent. She then lit up many lamps in the tomb and burned much incense therein. While they were standing near the tomb the servants of the Jewish priests and a band of men and officers[4] with attendants, and a great company from the party of the elders arose and proceeded with the robber Barnābān to the tomb of the Saviour and to the spot where the womenfolk of Pilate were praying. Then the soldiers of Pilate sprang on them with swords, spears and stones, put them to the sword,[5] seized the robber Barnābān, bound him with fetters and brought him to Pilate.

[1] *I.e.* the Christ.

[2] *Cf.* John xiii. 29. P. and M. 355 : "On account of the revenue that accrued to her from the thefts of her husband."

[3] M. 355 says only : "Her maid-servants."

[4] *Cf.* John xviii. 3.

[5] P. omits this sentence.

When Pilate saw him he asked him: "Are you the robber Barnābān whom I released from prison, and instead of whose blood we shed innocent blood? That innocent blood which we have unjustly shed will not fail to wreak vengeance on the one who acted towards him in an iniquitous way. To-day will redound on you all the evil, theft, robbery by violence, and homicide which you have perpetrated in this town, the inhabitants of which chose to release you and ransom you with the blood of Jesus. Now, O wretched and miserable one, God will show His justice towards you to-day. O robber, the shedding of the blood of Jesus with which they ransomed your own blood will not be slow in avenging itself on you." Then Pilate ordered that they should take Barnābān to the place where the Saviour was crucified, that they should crucify him there head downwards, that they should pierce him with a spear before he expired, that they should break the bones of his legs in order that he might die quickly, on account of all the untruthfulness told by his people. The soldiers of Pilate took him, did with him what Pilate had ordered, and killed him,[1] five days[2] after the resurrection of the Saviour.

When this took place the Jewish people became incensed against Pilate and began to say to one another: "Comrades, Barnābān[3] has gone from us and Pilate is left. Come, let us write a report about Pilate from King Herod to the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, and ask him to kill him for us; we will give three talents[4] of gold to Herod in order that he may help us to murder him." Many Jews, then, men and women, tore up their clothings, threw ashes on their heads, and repaired to King Herod in Galilee. They began to vociferate, and their clamour reached such a pitch that the town was in a state of commotion. They shouted and said: "How is it that we have no king to-day except Pilate the foreigner, who is from the land of Egypt?[5] And they clamoured and said: "He has thwarted and

[1] M. 127 adds here; "And he went to hell, and an evil journey it is." This last sentence is from Ḳur, ii., 120, etc.

[2] M. 355 "five months."

[3] P. has "Jesus," which seems to be a better text.

[4] A *Ḳinṭār* in terms of gold generally weighs a hundred *raṭls* and is worth one thousand *dināṛs* (denarii).

[5] I have not come across a good authority for this statement apart from the Coptic fragments referred to in my note below, p. 254. Crum adds in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* (1927, p. 23), that the Ethiopic translation has

despised the injunctions of the King, changed our habits and customs, and destroyed the laws of our fathers in conjunction with Joseph and Nicodemus. How is it that all power has gone from Herod? We ask your Majesty as our King, to deliver us from him.[1] He has killed Barnābān whom you had ordered to be released from prison on account of his courage and valour in his fight for the King and in his endeavour to defeat the King's enemies. He did all this without consulting the King and on the advice of Joseph and Nicodemus. Now you are competent to judge between us and him and to write and inform the Emperor Cæsar of his affair and of all that he did to us for the sake of Jesus of Nazareth."

Herod became then incensed against Pilate and wrote about him many lying things which he sent to Tiberius Cæsar, and despatched with his report men of high standing among the Jews in order to render his report more effective. It happened that the letters of Herod preceded those of Pilate by one day. The Jews read them to the Emperor with all the slanders and iniquitous testimonies which they contained, and asked him to kill Pilate and his confederates. In the morning the letters of Pilate reached the Emperor,[2] and in them was an account of all the deeds of Jesus, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection from the dead, the quaking of the earth, the eclipse of the sun, and the destruction of the idols and their falling from their thrones on the day of His crucifixion.

When the Emperor Tiberius read and heard what the Jews had done to the Saviour at His crucifixion, he wept on account of the deep sorrow that he felt; and when he reached the place in which were the names of the heads of the Jews who were the cause of the crucifixion of Jesus, he found that some of them were among those who had come to him in order to vent their grievances about Pilate. He,

Pilatos Mašarī (*B.M.* 690, fol. 99[a]), "Pilate the Magician," which would simply be a mistranscription of the Arabic *maṣrī* "the Egyptian." The Melchite Eutychius (in *C.S.C.O.*, i., 91) contends that Pilate was of Italian origin, from an island named *Pontah* and situated near Rome.

[1] This sentence is found in P. only.

[2] That Pilate wrote a report to Tiberius concerning Jesus is suggested by Justin (1 *Ap.* 35), Tertullian (*Ap.* 21), and Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 2). I cannot decide with certainty if there is any historical value in this suggestion, but the report cannot be the one implied in the present document nor those reports preserved in Greek and Syriac and printed by Tischendorf and Rahmani respectively.

therefore, summoned them before him and said to them: "O chiefs of iniquity, here is the letter of Pilate, and he is testifying against you that it was you who crucified Jesus of Nazareth. I will order now that none of you be left alive in the world on account of your cruel deeds to Jesus. He ordered, therefore, that they should be killed and their bodies be hung on the heights that surmounted the gates of the city. Then he sent a messenger after Pilate and summoned him before him in order that he might tell him the truth concerning the miracles that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour.

When the messenger of the Emperor reached Jerusalem, the chiefs of the Jews assembled and went to Herod, and apprised him of the arrival of the messenger of the Emperor for the purpose of summoning Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus. They spoke to him out of their spite and jealousy and told him that they would bribe the messenger if he would kill Pilate, but he said to them that he was unable to do so without the sanction of the Emperor. In the morning Herod came to Jerusalem to have a word with Pilate on the affair. When Pilate heard this he went to his wife and said to her: "O my sister Procula,[1] arise and hide in a place on account of what Herod is going to do to me. The mob, the heads of the Jewish people and the messenger of the Emperor have come. I do not know if they have come to take off my head or to torment me for the sake of the Saviour. Arise you, take your children and go out of this town. Watch, however, over my body if they are bent on taking off my head. Give silver to the soldiers and redeem my body from them, shroud it, and place it near the tomb of my Lord Jesus in order that His grace may overtake me. Do this even if you have to give all my possessions for the purpose."

When his wife heard these words she tore up her garments, and began to pluck the hair of her head, saying, "What are these words you are uttering to me, my lord Pilate. Have I not sufficient pain in my heart on account of what you did with Jesus in crucifying Him? To tell you the truth, O brother, you have comforted my heart to-day in apprising me of your possible death. If God did not spare His only Son but delivered Him up for us,[2] neither I nor you will flee from

[1] This sentence is missing in M. 127 and the previous sentences are somewhat differently worded in the three MSS.

[2] *Cf.* Rom. viii. 32.

death for Him. What utility shall we have from our nation ?[1] O brother, if you love me more than you love Him, it is blameworthy. God knows that we are both of us one body, and as we did not separate from each other in this world, neither we nor our children should be separated the one from the other in the Kingdom of Heaven."

While Procula, the wife of Pilate, was saying this, the troops came and surrounded him and took him to the court of Herod, in the presence of the messenger of the Emperor, who said : "Are you Pilate who said 'There is no hand over my hand ?[2] How did you kill this Jesus without consulting the Emperor ?" Pilate did not give him any answer to this question but only said : "My lord, if these have had so little fear of God as to crucify His beloved Son, I am prepared to die for His holy name, I have faith that if I die for His name I shall possess the eternal life, and you will not impede me from His glory." The Jewish people said then to the messenger of the Emperor : "What is the utility of speaking to him while he insults you in the Coptic language ?"[3]

Immediately after (the envoy of the Emperor) gave orders that he should be stripped of his clothes, that a napkin should be tied round his loins, and that he should be flagellated with a rough whip. Herod incited them to flog him well, and the Jewish people said : "O Pilate all the sufferings you inflicted on Barnābān have now come back on your own head. You prided yourself and said that you were the Governor, and the Emperor. Now no power of any kind remains to you in the city of Jerusalem." Pilate bore with patience this taunt while he was being flogged with the whip, and his innocent blood flowed profusely on the ground before them like flowing water.

Then his wife Procula hastened and came to him and began to urge and encourage him, saying, "O martyr, O my brother Pilate, how I wish to die with the death with which you will die !" The Jews seized her immediately with her hair and threw her before her

[1] Found only in P. [2] *I.e.*, more powerful than I am.

[3] That Pilate was of Egyptian origin is also the statement of the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (No. 4) in *Pat. Orient.*, ii., p. 151, seqq. and Robinson, *Copt. Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 176. *Cf.* James, *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 148. See also my note above p. 251 and Crum in *J.E.A.*, 1927, p. 23.

husband in order to intensify his affront and indignity.[1] The holy Procula, however, was jubilant in her heart and began to say: "O my brother Pilate, the beginning of this first honour that came to me I offer to Christ and to His holy name."[2]

The Jews then said to Pilate: "Know that this punishment which is inflicted on you is not for what you have done to Jesus of Nazareth, but for your murdering of Barnābān." And he replied to them: "Would that I could be found worthy to be crucified with my wife and children for the name of Jesus, and that He could be left alive to me; but I believe, rather I am sure of the fact, that He is alive and that He has eternal life, which He imparts to all believers in Him." The Jews answered Him and said: "O Pilate, your life is like His life and your lot is similar to His lot." And he said: "Amen. My life is with Him, and His judgment will be on you and your children."[3] The Jews then sprang upon him, and some of them slapped him, some others struck him on the face, and some others insulted him and reviled him saying: "We will not release you until you die on the wood like your God Jesus."

When the messenger of the Emperor noticed the intensity of their hatred against him he took him from their hands and said to them: "The Emperor has not permitted me to do this, nor has he ordered me to torture him and to kill him, until I have brought him before him." The Jews, however, satisfied him with much money and said to him: "Kill him and his affair will not reach the ears of the Emperor." And they asked him to give them permission to drag him in the streets of the town bound with fetters and accompanied by his bare-headed wife; and this was granted to them. How bitter was the weeping in Jerusalem, when people saw Pilate and his wife with their hands bound with fetters behind their back and dragged in the streets, while the Jews were applauding and saying: "This is like the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth!" When the hirelings were tired of

[1] *Sic* P., but M. 127: "in order to insult *her*" and M. 355: "in order to burn her." A slight graphic error arising in Arabic characters between *Yahkirūha* and *Yahrukūha*.

[2] *Sic* P., but M. 127 and M. 355: "the beginning of your honour offer it to . . ."

[3] *Sic* P., but M. 127 and M. 355: "My judgment is on the Jews and their children."

the work of dragging they threw them in prison while still bound with iron fetters, but beaming with joy.

Then the false witnesses and teachers of error sat and wrote many lies about Pilate, saying: "This is Pilate who said, 'There is no hand over my hand and no other king beside me.' This is Pilate who abrogated our prescriptions. This is the one who demolished our synagogues, in which people read the law and the commandments. This is the one who killed the indomitable Barnābān." When they wrote this they began to bring accusations against Joseph and Nicodemus, and they brought them bound with fetters[1] before Herod, as they had done with Pilate. He ordered them to be flogged and their possessions plundered, like Pilate's, and they were so much weakened by scourging and so impoverished that they resembled Job at the time of his poverty.

Then the iniquitous Jews sat and conspired together to burn the tomb of the Saviour on account of the prodigies and miracles that they saw emanating from it, and they asked for the wood of the cross to be burnt likewise. Joseph, however, had taken it and placed it in a hidden place in the sepulchre. The Jews, therefore, brought fire which they kindled round the sepulchre, but it did no harm of any kind to it, nor did it reach it; and to hide their shame, they hid[2] the entrance of the sepulchre and placed a stone over it in order that no one might penetrate into it. The Jews did all this.

When Pilate and his wife, and Joseph and Nicodemus, were in prison, Herod asked the messenger of the Emperor to empower him to send Joseph and Nicodemus to their own town and to kill them therein, but the messenger of the Emperor did not allow him to do so. Then the Jews asked Herod to secure for them from the messenger of the Emperor a permit which would allow them to crucify Pilate like his Master, and when they bribed him with much money he delivered Pilate to them in order that they might crucify him and kill him.

While they had conspired thus to kill Pilate with his wife and his children, lo, the keepers of the prison came to Pilate shaking and trembling. They began to implore the messenger of the Emperor, saying: "O our lord the Vizier, either do with Pilate what you have

[1] "Bound with fetters" is only found in P.
[2] Or "they sealed."

intended to do with him, or take him away from us.[1] From the time you have ordered him to be imprisoned with his wife, they have not been left alone, but a spiritual man is constantly with them, whose light is more dazzling even than that of the sun. We saw him coming down from Heaven and embracing them, after which the fetters and shackles with which they were bound were torn up, and their iron melted like water from their feet; further, the column to which they were tied bent down and worshipped that spiritual being, and it is even now in that bent state, inclining to the ground."

Then they asked them and said: "What is the description of that man?" And they answered: "He is a Galilean by appearance, and his hair is beautiful and flowing in curls round him.[2] He spoke at a great length with Pilate and his wife, and said to him, 'O Pilate, you shall be crucified on the wood of the Cross like me, and they shall place a crown of thorns on your head like me, but they will not be able to kill you here: they will take you to the Emperor Tiberius, before whom you will stand and who will order you to be crucified a second time.' They were also having much intimate conversation with each other."

When the Jews heard these words from the gaolers an intense fear seized them and their hearts palpitated. They began to say to one another: "Even if they kill us and kill our children we will kill and crucify Pilate." Then Herod enjoined the gaolers not to repeat these words before anybody else until Pilate was killed. When Pilate heard these words he was greatly pleased.

Meanwhile the Jews advanced much silver to the messenger of the Emperor—and it amounted to such a quantity that it carried conviction, and he allowed them to crucify him. Then they rushed like mad dogs to the gaol in order to take him out and crucify him.[3] When they entered the gaol they found him smiling and joyful, while the fetters were loosed from him and from his wife, and the column was leaning towards the ground like a tree bent by the force of the wind.

The Jews took then Pilate and his wife and brought them to the open court. They stripped him of his garments, tied a napkin round his waist to cover his nudity, and began to march them through all the

[1] P., "Do not take him from us."
[2] M. 127, "He is Jesus of Nazareth."
[3] All these sentences are only found in P.

city until they reached the spot where they had crucified the two malefactors, and they crucified him there.

God, however, who is full of mercy, inculcated forgetfulness into the mind of the Jews so that none of them stretched an evil hand towards the wife of Pilate. Indeed, she was standing near him urging and encouraging him, saying: "O my brother Pilate, remember the One who comforted you and came to you in this very night. Endure and bear your tribulations for His name." And when they were intending to lift him on the cross, they remembered the Cross of the Saviour, and for this they immediately opened the sepulchre and took the wood of the cross and crucified Pilate on it. They fastened him tightly on it with nails, placed on his head a crown of thorns, arrayed him in a purple garment,[1] and began to pierce his side with a spear while shouting and saying: "O Pilate, disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, if your Master has risen from the dead come down from the cross, and we will believe in Him."[2]

The blessed Pilate began to pray while hanging on the cross, and said: "O my Lord, I have polluted your holy cross by the hanging of my body on it, because it is a pure wood and my body is an impure body; your blood is an innocent blood, and my blood[3] is carnal. I do not weep now, O my Lord, because I have been crucified for your name, but I weep because I have defiled and polluted your holy cross. I do not sigh, O my Lord, for help, but I shed tears because you have borne all these sufferings for us sinners. I do not weep, O my Lord, because they have crucified me.[4] Have pity on me, your sinning servant, who has been lifted up on your holy cross, as I am not worthy of all these benefits. I do not sigh because of my nudity, but I weep for your deep humility and self-effacement.[5] Now I ask you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, not in my own name, but for the glory of your Majesty and the honour of your Cross, to grant rest[6] and a happy lot

[1] *Cf.* John xix. 2-5. Note how the author is at some pains here and elsewhere to reproduce in the case of Pilate all the incidents of the Passion of Christ.

[2] *Cf.* Matt. xxvii. 43.

[3] I follow V. 199. The three other MSS. have "body" for "blood."

[4] The preceding sentences are only found in P.

[5] In the above sentences I have taken the best wording represented by the three MSS.

[6] Syr. *n̲iyāḥa*.

to my poor soul. Grant rest to me, your servant Pilate, to your maidservant Procula, and to my children, in the day in which you will come to judge the world."[1]

This is what Pilate said, and his God-loving wife Procula approached him, kissed his legs while he was hanging on the wood of the cross, and said: "Why are you weeping on the wood of the Cross? You are ahead of us in sitting before the throne of the Judge. You are ahead of us in lighting your lamp at the wedding of your Lord Jesus Christ. You are ahead of us, O my brother Pilate, in lying in the banquet of a thousand years.[2] You are ahead of us in wearing the diadem of the king in the dignified law court of Judgment. Blessed are you, O Pilate, for having been lifted up on the wood of the cross, and this lifting will make you worthy of sitting in the Kingdom of Heaven."

This is what the blessed Procula said under the cross, while all eyes were gazing at her. She further said: "You have preceded us and sat before the throne of judgment. Now you have lit your lamps in the wedding of your Master." And the Jews began to rail and scoff at her and at Pilate. Then two crowns came down from Heaven, equal to each other in glory and majesty, and a voice from Heaven was heard saying: "Know, O Pilate and Procula, that you will be crowned with these two crowns that came down to you from Heaven, because of the sufferings you have borne for your God and your great faith in Him." Then the two crowns disappeared and went up to Heaven.

When the multitudes noticed this miracle, they hastened and brought down Pilate from the cross alive, then they heated water for him and washed his body with it, after which they put on him his garments, and brought him and his wife Procula to the messenger of the Emperor and said: "If the Emperor has sent you to destroy this city, listen to the cruel Herod.[3] You do not know his great cunning

[1] P. "Give her (my wife) rest and comfort in the day in which she shall come to you."

[2] The author seems to have a tendancy to a millenium. The sentence is only found in P.

[3] The author apparently identifies this Herod with Herod Antipas, who was the son of Herod the Great by Malthace (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. i. 3), and who ordered the death of John the Baptist (Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii. v. 2). In another passage below, p. 265, the author appears to identify this

and machinations. He became jealous of his brother, took his wife Herodia from him and killed him with hunger and thirst, through the hatred and cruelty that are in him. Do you not see what he did in the city in these days? He killed a just man because of his own sympathy with the Jews and God wishes to destroy us all because of him. What advantage will ever come to Jerusalem if you allowed Pilate, its Governor, to be murdered in it. Truth to tell it is Herod that deserves death instead of Pilate. If the Emperor was aware of the deeds of Herod he would not have empowered him to rule over this city and torment Pilate and his wife.[1] After all the affairs of the city are in the hands of the Emperor, and Herod has neither a word to say in the matter, nor power and jurisdiction of any kind over us."

When the Vizier heard these words from the multitude he was pleased with them, and he released Pilate until he had brought his case before the Emperor. Now the Emperor had an only son whom he loved tenderly more than all his kingdom. It happened that the boy went into a bath to wash,[2] and an evil spirit entered there into him, strangled him and threw him to the ground dead. His father and mother came then to him with intense grief, in order to take him and bury him, and they buried him near them and wailed and wept over him night and day for three complete months. One day when the Emperor was sitting wailing and weeping over the loss of his son, his wife came down to him, bowed before him and said to him: "O my lord, we have had much sorrow and our bereavement has affected our brain." And the Emperor said to her: "And how has our brain been affected?" And she replied to him and said: "O my lord, I recalled that some time ago the inhabitants of Jerusalem sent to you a letter concerning a certain Jesus of Nazareth[3] whom the Jews had crucified, and they reported that He had raised dead men while He was alive. And Pilate also, the Governor of the town, wrote to you a letter in which he registered the miracles and prodigies which

Herod with Herod Agrippa i. In the "New Life of John the Baptist" which I edited and translated in vol. i. of the *Woodbrooke Studies* (p. 251), Herod Antipas is said to have died of a sudden stroke.

[1] M. 127 has no reference to the wife.

[2] M. 127, "to swim."

[3] P. "the prophet."

He had wrought. He told us that He had raised up the dead, healed the cripples[1] and the sick, opened the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf. He further added that many miracles and prodigies were taking place even now at His tomb. This is the reason why I said that we have been stupid, that we have been struck with forgetfulness and our brain has been affected. Indeed, if we had sent our son, when he died, to His tomb, he would have been alive now."

When the Emperor heard these words he rose from his forgetfulness and remained for a long time in a state of confusion, meditating over the words of his wife. Then he immediately summoned his faithful servants[2] and enjoined them to fill vessels with gifts to be sent to Jerusalem. He also despatched brave and courageous men to the tomb of his son, which they opened and from which they took the coffin that contained the body and brought it to the father. When he saw that all the flesh of his limbs had suffered putrefaction and disappeared and that nothing was left from his body but the bones, he and his wife wept bitterly for a long time. Then he took ink, pen and papyrus,[3] and wrote as follows :—

"Tiberius the Emperor of the earth and the servant of the King of Heaven asks you and implores your love, O my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I do not know at all, whom I did not perceive, and to whom I have never had the honour and the worth to speak. A man named Pilate bore witness to the miracles which you wrought, and reported that you rose from the dead, and I believed his words ; he told me that you gave sight to the blind, and I believed this about you ; he mentioned to me that you made wine out of water, and I did not doubt it from you ; he wrote also to me that you raised from the dead a man called Lazarus four days after he had died, and I became convinced in my mind that you had done it. He also testified and said that the miracles which you wrought, the tomb in which your body is laid was also working them. I believed in you and was convinced that you are the Son of God. As you are in heaven so also you are on the earth and in the tomb. Now, O my Lord, have pity on the weakness of your servant Tiberius ; remember him with your

[1] M. 127, "those possessed by demons."
[2] M. 127, "his agent," P. "the agents of his property."
[3] *Kirṭās* means also "parchment."

grace, and have mercy on the wretchedness of Cæsar, my son and your servant, whom I have sent to your tomb. Grant him life, O my Lord and my God.[1] I heard that you were the resurrection and the life[2] to all the dead from Adam till now. I believed that you have suffered pains in order to deliver the sons of men from the hands of the enemy. If you will, let your grace overtake me.[3] Amen."

After the Emperor had written this letter he sealed and sent it to his messenger in Jerusalem. He also said to his faithful servants:[4] "Inform yourselves about the tomb of Jesus whom the Jews have crucified, in which they placed His body and from which He rose the third day, and lay the body of my son in it. I have faith that my son whom I am sending dead in a coffin to Jerusalem will come back to me alive." And they departed and reached Jerusalem with the letter of the Emperor and the dead body of his son, accompanied by thousands of attendants, female servants and male servants; and they went to Herod and to the messenger of the Emperor.

At that time Pilate and his wife were in prison. In the night the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them a second time and said to Pilate: "Peace be with you, O Pilate! Peace be with you, you whose name was the first to be pronounced by the Father's mouth of life.[5] It is inevitable that you should be judged in the court of the Emperor Tiberius.[6] Now is the word of the Father fulfilled, because I stood before you and you sat and judged me. Be not grieved, O Pilate, because they have crucified you for me, since this has saved you from your sin and from the act of your scoffing at me. You have been flagellated, O Pilate, in order that you might be redeemed of the sin of my flagellation, which you ordered. Your blood has been shed, O Pilate, in order that you might be purified from the sin of the shedding of my blood. You have been lifted up on the wood of the

[1] M. 355 and P. add: "And raise him up from the dead in order that I may believe in you and in your miracles."

[2] *Cf.* John xi. 25.

[3] P. adds: "To you is glory due with your good Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever," and M. 127 is here: "Have pity on me with your grace, O most merciful of the merciful." This last expression is from the Kur'ān (Surah vii., verse 150).

[4] Here as above M. 127 "his agent," P. however: "his soldiers."

[5] Or "by the mouth of life, the Father." M 127 omits these sentences altogether.

[6] M. 355 and P: "of a man called Pilate."

cross, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of your saying to (the Jews) 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.'[1] They have stripped you of your garments, O Pilate, in order that you might be absolved from the sin of the stripping of my garments. They have placed a crown of thorns on your head, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the punishment of the crown of thorns that your soldiers placed on my head. You have been dragged in the streets of the town, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of my carrying of the cross which you ordered while in the seat of judgment. Everything that has happened to you is for the sole reason that you may be saved from the sin of my death.

"As to your God-loving wife Procula, tell her not to grieve at the fact that they took her bare-headed, as my own mother Mary was rendered bare-headed in the town of Jerusalem on the day of my death. All the inhabitants of the earth with their offerings and sacrifices are not worth to me a single hair of my mother's head. O Pilate, tell your wife Procula not to grieve at the fact that they took her out of her palace and the inhabitants of the town saw her bare-headed, as Mary, my mother, took me also from country to country and from town to town and experienced the pains of expatriation.[2]

"O Pilate, as your wife Procula comforted you with her words at the time of your crucifixion, so my beloved mother comforted me with her words while I was hanging on the wood of the cross and said to me: 'I convey you peace, O my beloved Son, and light of my eyes.'[3] Now, O Pilate, do not be afraid because it is inevitable

[1] John xix. 6.

[2] P. adds: "and of the desert of the mountain of Kuskam." This Kuskam is the place in which the holy family took refuge at the time of the flight of Christ from Herod, according to the Syriac vision of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. See Mingana, Syr. 5 ff. 1-18*b* and Mingana, Syr. 39 ff. 56*b*-70*b*, and *cf.* my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 255. See also *R.O.C.*, xv., 128-132. The place was afterwards called *Muḥarrak*, and in due course a church was built in it to commemorate the event. See *Pat. Orient.* iii., 255. The place is also referred to in Ethiopic literature: "Joseph rose up and took our holy Lady, the Virgin Mary, and came unto the country of Egypt and went to Mount Kues Kuām." Budge's *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, p. 145. Kuskam is the modern Kus about sixteen miles north of Luxor, but some authorities place it near the Red Sea.

[3] The last clause is found in P. only.

that you should enter into another fight for me near Tiberius Cæsar, and here is a sign for you to this effect : Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, has arrived here. His father sent him here dead, out of his great faith. They will soon summon you and deliver you from prison, take him to the tomb in which my body was laid, and as I gave life to Lazarus and to the son of the widow in the town of Nain, so I will give life to this boy because of his father's faith. Grow cheerful, O Pilate, and fight for my resurrection."

The Saviour spoke these words to Pilate and disappeared from his sight. When they brought the son of the Emperor, and the vizier saw that he was dead and that he was accompanied by a considerable army of soldiers, he and all the town of Jerusalem were frightened, because they believed that he had died on the way. They were terrified lest the Emperor should order the town to be burnt and its inhabitants destroyed, but when they perused the letter of the Emperor they were struck by the depth of his humility and the greatness of his faith and were much astonished.

When Herod and the Jewish community heard this news they feared that the son of the Emperor should rise and live again, and they conspired with the guards who were keeping watch over the body of the son of the Emperor, and gave them much gold and silver in order that they might allow them to take his body stealthily and hide it ; and the wicked community accomplished what they had conceived.[1]

When Pilate was freed from prison for the sake of placing the body of the son of the Emperor in the tomb of the Saviour, in company with Joseph and Nicodemus, a Jew came by stealth in the darkness of the night and stole the body of the son of the Emperor from the coffin, at the command of Herod and of the priests. In the morning when they sought the body of the son of the Emperor and did not find it, all the city was thrown into confusion, and the heads of the Jews assembled and went to the messenger of the Emperor and told him that no one could have done this but Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus.

When the vizier heard these words he took Joseph and Nicodemus and scourged them, but no one laid harmful hands on Pilate, because, the people who had witnessed his crucifixion had

[1] This last clause is only found in P.

noticed the crowns that had come down from heaven for him and his wife. While Joseph and Nicodemus were bound with fetters and in the power of Herod, Gabriel the head of the angels, came down from heaven and extended his wings over them, and all the place shone with light, and he began to speak to them saying: "I am the angel Gabriel who took the head of John away from the wicked Herod, the father of the present iniquitous king, and proclaimed his sin in all the world;[1] I will now destroy this wicked Herod, and he will die of the pains and hunger which he will experience, and vermin will breed in his body like his father.[2] As to you, O Joseph and Nicodemus, here is what the Lord says: 'Your sufferings resemble my sufferings; you became martyrs, and I, too, was a martyr.' It is I who delivered you from destruction at the hands of the wicked ones, and it is I who enjoined the cloud to remove you, and delivered you from their hands. It is, however, imperative, that you should stand before the Emperor. As to the body of the son of the Emperor which the heads of the Jews have concealed in order that the glory of the Christ might not be made manifest, I shall disclose its hiding-place and bring it before the people."

This is what the angel Gabriel told the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus. And these two blessed ones sent for me, in secret, me Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them, because, I the weak Gamaliel, was the disciple of these blessed ones.[3] When I left them I noticed a great commotion in the town where people were saying to one another that the coffin containing the body of the son of the Emperor had been discovered in a Jewish house, and that the reason for stealing the body was to inculpate Pilate and discredit the resurrection of our Lord. The news spread in all the town that Herod and the High Priests of the Jews had connived and stolen the body of the son of the Emperor.

[1] See my edition and translation of *A New Life of John the Baptist* in vol. i. of *Woodbooke Studies*, p. 245 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.*, Acts. xii. 23. It appears from this that the author identifies this Herod with Herod Agrippa who died in A.D. 44 (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. viii. 2) and who was the son of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great by Mariamme, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. There is some confusion in the author's mind concerning the dynasty of the Herods. He had apparently identified him with Herod Antipas.

[3] M. 127 has instead: "And I comforted them and strengthened them."

In the meantime the archangel Gabriel removed the body of the son of the Emperor from the place in which it was hidden, and brought it and placed it before the vizier, and disappeared. At that very moment the vizier was incensed against Herod, and he threw an arrow at him, which caused him much pain. His body bred worms, and he died from the intensity of his pain.[1] As to the Jews who had hidden the body of the son of the Emperor, their houses were burnt together with their sons and daughters, and in this way they died an ignominious death, more ignominious than that of all men.

The vizier took then Joseph and Nicodemus from prison and handed to them the body of the son of the Emperor and his coffin ; he handed also to them[2] the letter of the Emperor, and they read it and were amazed at his wisdom, his deep humility and great faith. Then they lifted their eyes to heaven and said : "O Lord our God, O resurrection of the living and the dead, make manifest your power in the son of the Emperor Tiberius and accept the supplications of his father and have pity on him as you had pity on the son of the widow in the town of Nain. With your great power raise his son alive in order that he may glorify your holy name. Accept, O Lord, the strong faith of his father as you accepted the strong faith of Mary and Martha and raised for them their brother Lazarus. Have pity on him, O Lord Jesus Christ, and comfort the heart of the father by the resurrection of the son ; give him life, and let your holy sepulchre make him live again, in order that his faith in you may be strengthened like the rest, and in order that he may ascertain your resurrection from the dead."

The blessed ones spoke these words over the coffin of the son of the Emperor while dead ; then they took him and placed him in the tomb of the Saviour, and adjusted the stone to the door of the tomb. And the son of the Emperor remained four days in the tomb with a closed door, and they experienced deep sorrow at his long stay in the tomb and at his not having risen quickly. On the fourth day, however, he rose from the dead, the stone that was at the door of the tomb rolled away backwards, and the guards, terrified at the sight, went in haste to Pilate and began shouting and saying : "Come, our lord Pilate, and

[1] M. 127 adds here : "And he went to hell, and an evil journey is it!" This last sentence is from Kur'an, ii. 120, etc.

[2] M. 127 adds also : "to Pilate."

see how the son of the Emperor, who was in the tomb of Jesus, has risen, and how the stone rolled away without the help of a human hand."

Pilate then bowed himself to the ground, together with Joseph and Nicodemus, and worshipped in great joy ; then they all of them with the vizier of the Emperor and all the army repaired to the tomb of the Saviour, and they observed that Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, had risen and was sitting over[1] the coffin in which his body lay. He appeared bewildered with eyes fixed on the royal garment which he was wearing. They cried to him, saying : "O Cæsar, come out with the power of the One who raised you. Let our joy be perfect in this day as in the day in which our Saviour rose from the dead." At that very moment he jumped and came out of the tomb and sat on the stone. Then the vizier of his father approached him, bowed down and worshipped before him and said to him : "O my lord, what happened to you and why are you in a state of stupefaction ?" And he answered saying :—

"I am bewildered at the greatness of the glory, kingdom and power of my Lord Jesus who raised me from the dead, and I do not see the like of Him in any one of the men that are standing here,[2] nor do I see in them anything like His Majesty. His glory and His Majesty are indeed great. What is the honour of my father in comparison with this King ? This is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. What is the diadem of my father in comparison with His glory and the light of His Cross ? What are the sweet scents of my father in comparison with the sublime perfume that exhales from this Jesus ?[3] All the rulers of the earth cannot live after their death, but this powerful ruler, Jesus, has the power to do it. No one fears any king after he dies, but this Jesus, King of Kings, all angels, human beings and demons fear His name, and the doors of hell tremble from their dread of Him. All the tormenting spirits who take the souls of the wicked ones, and who are more wicked than the beasts of prey, dragons and vipers, I saw that they were terrified when a voice came to them, saying : 'Jesus orders you to take up this soul from amongst you, because He wants it.' They did not see Him, but only heard the one who pronounced His name.

[1] M. 355 : "in." [2] P. "In all the world."
[3] There are here some discrepancies in the MSS.

"I was then taken forthwith out of the torments in which I was lying, and He called me by my name saying: "O Cæsar, rise up; I have given you to your parents on account of their faith in Me, and in order that they might fight for My resurrection." Then He placed His cross on the coffin in which I was lying, and my bones adhered to one another, and my soul recognised its body. When my soul was united to my body I experienced a great joy, but fear overtook me after that lest He should deliver me again to them."

This is what the son of the Emperor said while sitting on the stone that was placed on the tomb of the Saviour. Then he asked those who were standing near him, saying: "What is the name of this town?" And they answered him: "Jerusalem."[1] Then he inquired about his father and mother, and they informed him that they were alive and that they were in the Capital of the Empire. After this Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus cried and said: Honour and glory be to you, O our Lord Jesus Christ, You who have revived dead bones and given life to those who love You!"

When the vizier noticed what had taken place, he went to a dung-heap and began to throw earth and ashes on his head in sign of the deep sorrow that he felt at his treatment of Pilate and his wife. Then he kissed the head of Pilate and asked forgiveness from him and his companions, and wept bitterly on the tomb of the Saviour on account of the magnitude of the miracle that had taken place in the person of the dead man who was now standing alive. Immediately after the vizier began to write a report to the Emperor, and informed him that his son who was dead was now speaking to him, and announced to him the great joy of the resuscitation of his son Cæsar, and his resurrection from the dead. Then the vizier handed also papyrus[2] to his master, the son of the Emperor, and asked him to write himself to his father, in his own handwriting. And he wrote as follows:

"I Cæsar, son of the Emperor Tiberius, was dead like the rest of mankind, and my body was decomposed and became earth in the grave, in which it lay for three months. The greatness of your faith sent me to Jerusalem hoping that I will rise from the dead by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. I have now risen from the dead.[3] My eyes saw the Lord Jesus in the flesh which He took from the

[1] P. adds "the Holy City." [2] Or parchment.
[3] This sentence is missing in M. 127.

Virgin Mary, and He is in an ineffable and indescribable glory. He called me by my name, saying, 'O Cæsar, arise now and stand up alive, and become the beginning of the resurrection of the dead.'[1] He then took me out of the hand of death, and His voice gave life to my body. He bestowed on you this great gift of my life, O my father, because of your great confidence and faith in Him, and He has raised me in order that you might increase in the glorification of His Majesty. I greet you,[2] O Emperor, my father. My hand which had suffered putrefaction in the grave and the fingers of which had dissolved into earth, is writing to you this greeting."[3]

The letter was handed to a courier who preceded Cæsar to his father, and announced the great joy to him. When the missive reached the Emperor he read it, and when he reached in it the passage in which it was said,[4] "your son who was dead is writing this to you with his own hand, and the Omnipotent Lord raised me from the dead in Jerusalem," he was immediately bewildered and confused, like Jacob when he received the intelligence that his son was alive; and he began to say to himself, "Is it possible that my son is alive? Is this news true?" Then he went to his wife and read to her the letter of her son Cæsar in which it was written that Jesus raised him from the dead.

The Queen threw then from her the dignity of the wives of the kings, when she heard that her son was alive, and became like a lioness. They called the courier who carried the letter and they said to him: "Be careful to speak the truth, and to tell us the story of our son exactly as it happened. Life or death are placed before you as the result of your words. If we see the face of our son another time, we will crown you with the crown of the kingdom and give you much money, but if we do not see the face of our son, your only reward with us will be sword and death. Go now to prison until we see the outcome of your words."

The Emperor did not neglect the affair of his son, but despatched immediately other couriers to ascertain whether what had been said concerning his son was true or not. The couriers of the Emperor

[1] *Cf.* Colos. i. 18. [2] Lit. "I convey you peace."

[3] P. adds: "And the report to your paternity. Be in good health in the Lord. Amen."

[4] This clause is missing in M. 127.

took the way to Jerusalem and found out that the son of the Emperor and his army were coming to the Emperor. The couriers of the Emperor delivered then to Cæsar the letter of his father Tiberius. Astonished at what they saw they proceeded to the Capital which they reached one day before the entry of the son of the Emperor, and early next morning the son of the Emperor arrived.

Who would describe the great joy and the sublime spectacle of that day! When the Emperor heard of the presence of his son he went out to meet him with so much haste that all the town was in a state of commotion,[1] especially when its inhabitants noticed the Emperor walking on his feet to go to his son, and exultant with joy because he was going to meet him. When he saw his face he began to cry, and weep from joy, saying: "Glory be to you, O Jesus of Nazareth, O God of earth and heaven, who vivified the bones that had suffered dissolution. Your grace overtook me to-day, because you raised my son from the dead. I am to-day as if I had seen the Lord Jesus, and although I shall confess and believe every day in you and in your great power, to-day the belief of my heart is more intense.

"The resurrection of Lazarus from the dead in Bethany, four days after his death, was not so wonderful, O my Lord, because you were with him on the earth; the great wonder is that you raised my son, Cæsar, three months after his death. This miracle is also greater than that you wrought for the son of the widow in the town of Nain, because you were before the bier and you raised him before his descent into the grave. The grace that you have granted me, O my Lord, is greater than that which you granted to Jacob when he was told that his son Joseph was alive, and he went to him and saw him. My son remained three months in the grave and by your power you raised him from the dead."

This is what the Emperor said with a heart brimming with joy, while embracing his risen son. Then he said to his son: "O Cæsar, my son, I am as joyful to-day as if I had seen the Saviour rising from the dead and raising my son for me.[2] The miracles which I heard He was working, I see them to-day with my own eyes." Then the

[1] This sentence is only found in P.

[2] M. 127 has: "This is what the Emperor said concerning the resurrection of his son."

father ordered that his son should ride in a litter,[1] and he cried saying: "O our Lord Jesus Christ Who was crucified, Who rose from the dead and raised my son for me!" How great was the joy of the town when they saw that the one who was dead had risen from the dead after a death of three months! There was also much singing and jubilation before and after him while he was riding.

Then Cæsar began to narrate to his father and mother all what he had seen and all that Jesus—to Whom be glory—had done to him. He told them about Hell and the torments he saw in it. Then his father asked him and said: "Tell me about the physical characteristics, features and image of this man." And he said to him:[2] "Father, what is your glory in comparison with that of this great King. There is no likeness of His glory in all the world, and nothing like the resplendence of the diadem of His Kingdom. His speech is life and His rancour is wrath.[3] The light of the sun cannot reach the brightness of His splendour, and the dignity of His garment is not to be found with any other king of the earth. His throne is a burning fire, and His cross is the light and the brightness of His majesty, which transcends the majesty of all the terrestrial beings. I, O father, did not see Him before His crucifixion to know His portraiture and His features, but summon Pilate, the Governor of Jerusalem, and he will inform you of His physical characteristics, features and image."

And the Emperor immediately summoned Pilate who was presented to him, and he asked him: "Are you the Governor Pilate who crucified Jesus?" And he replied: "Yes, it is I your servant who stands before you. As to the crucifixion of Jesus, our living God, the Jews did not listen to my words on the matter, and it is Annas and Caiaphas who decided judicially on His crucifixion." And the Emperor Tiberius said: "You saw all the miracles and prodigies which He wrought, and I have been informed that at the time of His crucifixion you were sitting and judging His case. Now describe to me His image, His portraiture, His picture, His majesty, and His beauty." And Pilate said to him: "I bear witness before

[1] M. 127 adds: "Preceded by thousands and thousands of marching soldiers."

[2] M. 127 omits all the following description.

[3] Rather unseemly.

you, O Emperor, my lord, that He has been three times,[1] in my court, and I did not ascertain His portraiture and His characteristics: once I saw that He was of the colour of fire,[2] and once I saw Him like a bird flying to the heights of Heaven and the angels speaking to Him;[3] but your maidservant, my wife, and my children saw Him in their dream, and warned me against stretching a harmful hand towards Him. O my lord, by your life, I gave my two children to the Jews on His behalf in order that they might not crucify Him, and in order that they might release Him until I had brought His case before my lord the Emperor, but they did not listen to my words; they released a robber from prison and murder, and they took and crucified Jesus. Let it be known, however, to you, O my lord, that He did this out of His own freewill."

And the Emperor Tiberius said to him: "Tell me from where He is and from what place He comes, and how and when He came down from Heaven so that the Jews found Him, seized Him, crucified Him, and murdered Him."[4] And Pilate said to him: "They testified to me that His mother is a virgin, chaste and pure, that He was born of her without breaking her virginal seals, and that her name is Mary. The angel of the Lord came down from heaven and announced to her that she will conceive from the Holy Spirit and bring forth a Son whose name shall be called Emmanuel." And the Emperor said to him: "And how long did He remain on the earth?" And Pilate answered: "Thirty years."

And the Emperor said to him: "And in all this length of time you saw this man, noticed the miracles and the prodigies that He was performing, and you did not inform me of His affair." And Pilate replied to him: "By your life, O my lord the Emperor, in all this length of time I did not see Him nor did I perceive His face except on the day of the crucifixion, when the Jews brought Him to me and crucified Him." And Tiberius said to him: "You have acted high-handedly, and have not informed me of His affair.[5] They

[1] M. 127 "three days." [2] M. 127 omits this sentence.

[3] P. adds: "And worshipping Him."

[4] The answer is given succinctly in M. 127 as follows: "And he narrated to him His descent from heaven, His dwelling in a virgin, and His thirty years stay on the earth."

[5] M. 355 adds here: "You ate and drank with Him." M. 127 omits all this question of the Emperor.

delivered Him to you, and you did not remember His miracles and prodigies, and you did not feel awestruck in His presence, and the glory of His divinity did not frighten you. I will now kill you and do to you what you did to Him."

The Emperor Tiberius spoke thus and immediately after the soldiers seized Pilate and took him out in order to cut off his head, but the Emperor ordered that he should be crucified another time before he was beheaded. And they crucified him outside the city, struck him on the head with a reed-stick, and nailed him to the wood, pierced his side with a spear, tormented him with grievous torments and after that proceeded to cut off his head.[1] And the blessed Pilate asked the soldiers to give him[2] a little respite so that he might pray. And he immediately knelt down and began to pray, saying:

"O my Lord Jesus Christ who took away all the sins of the world,[3] have pity on your servant Pilate and forgive all my stumblings, omissions and sins. Guard my poor soul and deliver it from torments.[4] I beseech you, O my Lord and my God, do not separate my soul from that of your maidservant Procula, but make her worthy to be with me in the place of rest.[5] Do not forget your servants, my children, because while I was in the world, O Lord, I delivered them to death for your sake as a ransom for your crucifixion, but the Jews refused them. Do not let the tribulations of Pilate be in vain. I have indeed dared to judge you, O just Judge, but do not rebuke me for this sin which I have committed, because you are a merciful and compassionate God, and I am a created being, and I dared to say to you 'Who are You?'[6] I implore you, O my Lord, not to put me to shame and not to rebuke me because I caused you to bear your cross and said to the Jews: 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.'[7] And they did all this while I was in the seat of judgment.[8] O my Lord, my God, and my Saviour, I beseech you not to remove me from your glory but to grant me your mercy. To you be glory and honour for ever. Amen."

[1] M. 127 omits all the above sentences.
[2] M. 355 adds here: "to take him down from the cross."
[3] *Cf.* John i. 29.
[4] P. and M. 355: "from the route which it is following."
[5] Syr. *niyāḥa.*
[6] M. 127; "From where are you?"
[7] John xix. 6.
[8] M. 127 omits all the above sentences.

Pilate uttered these words while kneeling on the ground. And I, Gamaliel was not able to restrain my tears when I saw the weeping of the blessed Pilate when he began to implore the soldiers to deliver his body to his servants after they had cut off his head. Then he turned and noticed one of his servants, Basilius[1] with a number of friends, all weeping, and he said to them:[2] "Do not weep over my death, because my Lord has tasted death for us. When you see that they have cut off my head, I want you to shroud my body well, to bring it to Jerusalem and there dig a grave for me near the tomb of Jesus, my Lord and my Saviour, in order that He may have pity on me."[3]

After Pilate had said this they cut off his head on the fifteenth of the month of June.[4] Then we[5] got hold of his body, shrouded it and took it to Jerusalem, as he had wished. When we reached the town we found that his wife Procula and her two children had died[6] on the very day of our arrival, and we placed them all in one grave near the sepulchre of the Redeemer.

As to the Jews, the Emperor Tiberius sent orders to Jerusalem and had them all killed. He also sought Herod to slay him, but he was informed that he had died before Pilate.[7]

After this the wife of the Emperor Tiberius spoke to her husband and said to him: "O my lord Emperor, you knew and saw[8] what

[1] P. "one of his servants and *Phasilius*, his majordomo." M. 127 omits this sentence altogether.

[2] M. 127, "and this is what Pilate said to his relatives and his friends."

[3] There are differences in the MSS. in the wording of this sentence. I followed M. 127 in my translation.

[4] Syrian month *ḥezīrān* (old style). M. 355 and P. use here the Coptic month *Bawūnah*. There are many discrepancies here in the wording of the three MSS. I followed M. 127 which has the shortest text. The Copts honour Pilate and his wife on June 25 (new style). *Cf.* G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Prokurator*, p. 7.

[5] M. 127 and P. use for all these verbs the 3rd pers. plur.

[6] M. 355, and P. use here *tanayyaḥu* from the Syr. *ittniḥ*.

[7] M. 127 ends here with the colophon by Gamaliel, which comes later, and the following colophon: "This book is finished in 1994 of the Greeks, on a Friday, 13th October, in the time of our Fathers: Patriarch 'Abdal-Masīḥ, and Mar Basil Maphrian of the East, and Mar Gregory the servant of the See of the Holy City. It was copied by the hand of the weakest of men, Joseph, a priest by name but a sinner by works." I give in the following pages the continuation of the story as found in M. 355 and P.

[8] P. "knew and *I* saw."

the Saviour Jesus did in resuscitating to us our son from the dead, and we, O my lord Emperor, feel much sorrow because we did not see Him, and because we were unworthy of perceiving Him. The Jews killed Him unjustly and you killed the Governor who empowered them to kill Him.[1] If it pleases you, O my lord Emperor, we will send for His mother in order that we may see her, because it has come to our knowledge that she is living at this moment in Jerusalem, the city of the Jews. We will take her before us and crown her with the crown of the kingdom and send her back to her country in order that all may honour her, and in order that no wicked Jew may stretch a harmful hand towards her, as they did with her son." When the Emperor heard these words from his wife they pleased him, and he despatched many soldiers, female attendants, and palace officials to Jerusalem in order to bring the Virgin Mary to them so that they might crown her with the crown of the kingdom.

Before this, our Saviour, King of Kings, appeared to His mother and to the Apostles, His elect, and He disclosed to them many secrets, and informed them that the Emperor Tiberius had sent for the Virgin Mary. Then after having laid upon John to repair to the Emperor Tiberius,[2] He turned to Mary, His mother, and said to her : "O my beloved mother, I shall take you to My kingdom and show you a great glory, greater than all the perishable glory and kingdom of this world. I am aware, O mother, of the fact that you were for many days in pains for Me, and that you endured tribulations for My sake,[3] in travelling from country to country and from town to town ; now I have come to take you in order that you might travel with Me to the city of the living God. You have toiled enough, O mother, come to the abode of joy and eternal rest.[4] You have toiled with Me, O mother, in the sorrow that overtook you on the day of the Crucifixion, come now and I will take you to the comfort of My kingdom.

"You have toiled, O mother, and your heart has suffered for Me, make haste and accompany Me to the eternal hymn of joy and to a repose that has no end. You have toiled, O mother, in your weeping at the door of the sepulchre, come now and see My glory and the

[1] This last sentence is not found in M. 355.
[2] P. adds: "To receive good rewards from him."
[3] P. omits these sentences. [4] This sentence is not found in P.

majesty of My throne,[1] sitting as I am in the middle of thousands and myriads of angels. You have wept for Me, O mother, on the *Kranion*[2] and Golgotha, make haste and come to the eternal heihtgs. O mother, your feet were tired in the streets of the earthly Jerusalem, come now and see the beauty of the heavenly Jerusalem. O mother, you were hungry and thirsty for My sake, come now and have your satisfaction in the pleasures of heaven in My kingdom. O mother, you wept in the house of John for My sake, come now and hear the melodies of the exultations of the Cherubim and Seraphim[3] who glorify Me, My Father and the Holy Spirit."

This is what the Saviour said to His mother to comfort her. Then she passed away and He sent her before Him on the wings of the Cherubim. As to the Apostles, they sorrowed greatly, bowed down, worshipped Him and asked Him saying: "O Lord, what is this sorrow that you have prepared for us, in taking away your mother, and in separating her from us? She used to comfort us, your disciples, since the day you left us and ascended to heaven. To-day great sorrow has filled our heart, and we became bereft of your sight[4] and the sight of your virgin mother, and deprived of her salutary teaching." And the Saviour replied saying: "O my beloved and O my members, do not be sad on account of the passing away of My mother from you. She has not died, but she has gone to the dwellings of rest, joy and eternal life.[5] She toiled much with Me in this world, and now I have taken her up[6] to heaven, and you will soon see her and she will see you, because you are bound to face the death imposed on mankind. I shall take her and travel with her in the dwellings of the pious, and she shall see the Kingdom of Heaven and know My great love for her.[7]

"Did I not send you another time[8] to the third heaven and you saw the heavenly Jerusalem in which your names are inscribed? Did

[1] P.: "That you may see in the glory of My Father."
[2] *I.e.*, Calvary. See the beginning of the story.
[3] The MSS. exhibit slight differences here. [4] P. omits.
[5] P.: "She has not gone from the world for pain, but she went in order to rest in the dwellings of rest, life and eternal joy."
[6] P: "You saw her ascending to."
[7] P.: "In rest and eternal life. I comforted her with this in order that she may know my great love for her."
[8] P.: "Several times."

not the Father call you children because you became My beloved disciples? How could I not give heaven to My virgin mother in whose womb I remained nine months, from whose breasts I sucked milk like other children, and on whose lap I sat like other babes? How could I not comfort her heart and remove from it the sadness and sorrow which she experienced in this world for My sake? Lo the kings of the earth wish to summon her in order to bestow their honours upon her, but which earthly king is able to bestow upon her honours on earth as she deserves? Lo, the seven doors are open before her and the twelve doors[1] of the heavenly Jerusalem are also thrown open before her. The greeting of the Father has reached her, saying, 'Be welcome, O Mary; the habitations of Heaven will submit to you, and the seven trumpets[2] will sing before you. The sea of fire will serve[3] before you, and the sun and the moon will be at your feet. All the choirs of heaven will sing before you, and heaven and earth will dance with canticles on the day of your Assumption.'"

This is what the Lord said to His disciples concerning His holy mother. Then He turned to John, His beloved, and said to him: "You shall have to stand before Tiberius Cæsar, and bear witness to him about what you saw the Jews doing to Me on the wood of the cross." The Saviour said these words to His holy disciples and disappeared from their sight.

Some days later the troops which the Emperor Tiberius had sent to Jerusalem arrived, accompanied by Palace officials and female attendants from the Queen. They carried also with them the crown of the kingdom, royal garments, glorious dresses, and precious and princely robes. They scoured all the land of Judæa in search of the Virgin, but they did not find her because she had left this world and ascended to heaven.[4] They took, however, the blessed John and brought him to

[1] About the twelve doors of heaven see the Syriac *History of the Blessed Virgin*, pp. 120-121 of the text (edit. Budge). Each door symbolised an Apostle of Christ. As to the seven doors they are the ordinary doors of the traditional seven heavens.

[2] M. 355: "the lions at the gate." The seven trumpets are, however, mentioned in the *Mysteries of St. John the Apostle*, edited and translated by Budge in the *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 247. They are said there to be appointed over the heavenly dew.

[3] P., "will be quenched."

[4] P: "and did not find her at all because she had gone to heaven."

the Emperor Tiberius. When the Emperor saw him he said to him: "Are you John, the beloved of the Lord and the friend of Jesus?" And John answered and said: "By the will of God and His grace, I am, O my lord Emperor, the one who is called by this name.[1] And now, O my lord, who is worthy to unloose his shoe's latchet? Who is able to grasp the rays of the sun or to embrace lightning? The judgments of God are light and truth, O Emperor, and the light of truth condescended to come to us from the essence of God, and humbling Himself, He called us His brothers, friends, and Apostles.[2] By your life, O my lord Emperor, He never called us slaves, but always brothers and friends."[3]

Then the Emperor said to him: "Having performed all these miracles and prodigies, how could the Jews pierce His heart with a spear?" And the blessed John replied: "The life of all of us consists of water and blood, and both of them sprang from His holy side. Before His crucifixion His virgin mother nudged Him at His side in Cana of Galilee, because people were in need of wine, and said to Him: 'O my beloved Son, they have no wine to drink at the wedding.' And our Lord turned and said to her: 'O woman, you have placed in advance your finger on the spot at which they will pierce My side.[4] You have asked Me, O mother, to make wine mixed with water in order that the guests of the wedding might drink of it; in this you have placed in advance your hand in the spring of water and blood which will jet forth from my side, and from which I shall give the faithful to drink.' It is not good, O Emperor, that you should study too deeply the greatness of His divinity, that is to say of God and His works which the intelligence of men is unable to comprehend."[5]

And the Emperor said to him: "Are you the disciple who was standing near Him at the time of His Crucifixion?" And John replied: "Yes, I was present there and saw all that the Jews did to our Lord Jesus Christ on the wood of the cross." And the Emperor

[1] M. 355: "by His will and His love He called me by this name."

[2] P: "He came down to us, poor people, and called us His brothers, the friends of His Father, on account of His love for men."

[3] P. adds: "of His Father."

[4] M. 355 adds: "in order to give the faithful to drink."

[5] M. 355 omits the last sentence.

said to him : "You will then know how to paint His image for me in the figure[1] which He had on the cross, exactly as He was crucified for us." And John replied : "Yes, I will paint Him." And the Emperor ordered a slab of good stone,[2] and the blessed John painted the figure of the Saviour on it[3] according to the order of the Emperor. When it was finished the blessed John bent his head over it in order to kiss it with his mouth, and immediately after the lips of the Saviour turned to the lips[4] of the blessed John, and they kissed each other.

The Emperor Tiberius witnessed all this, and he was greatly amazed and bewildered. Then the icon which represented the image of our Lord cried and said : "It is enough, O John, that you painted my image and the figure of my crucifixion, as you witnessed it on the day of the crucifixion. It was not fair on your part, you my beloved, to crucify me after my resurrection from the dead ;[5] it would have been better if you had painted my figure according to the image you saw of me after my resurrection. The Jews crucified me once at the hand of Herod, why do you crucify me again at the hand of Tiberius ?[6] The soldiers divided my garments among themselves in Jerusalem once, do not allow the inhabitants of Rome also to see my nudity. My side was pierced with a spear on Friday,[7] do not pierce me, O John, my beloved, another time after my resurrection. I called Judas[8] my friend, and he delivered me to death ; but I love you, O John, more than all the world, do not leave me, therefore, in the sufferings of the crucifixion, because I rose from the dead. You know, O John, the joy that you experienced, you and my virgin mother, on the day of my resurrection, since, therefore, I rose from the dead, do not leave me in the passion of the cross. Know, O John, that my resurrection was joy and gladness to all the earth."[9]

After the image said this to John, the voice was heard no more.

[1] M. 355 has here *haibah*, "dignity." I take this to be a mistake for *hai'ah*, "image, figure." This shows clearly that the original from which the MS. was transcribed was written in undotted Arabic characters in which there is no graphic difference between the two words. I believe that the variant could not have arisen otherwise.

[2] P. omits "stone."

[3] M. 355 ; "on this slab of marble." P. omits "marble."

[4] P. "Adhered to the lips." [5] M. 355 omits this sentence.

[6] There are considerable verbal differences here in the two MSS.

[7] M. 355 adds here "which was passover day."

[8] M. 355, "John." [9] P. omits this sentence.

When the Emperor heard these wonderful words, his mind came back to him and he rose on his feet, kissed the head of John and said : "You are truly the disciple of Jesus Christ whom He loved, and you are His friend." And the Emperor took the image and embraced it, then he placed it on a high pedestal at that place, like the image of the Son of God in the country of the Byzantines.[1] Then the Emperor gave much money to John and bestowed many benefits on him, but he refused to take anything. Then he went out of the city, and a column of light carried him away and brought him to the Mount of Olives. He greeted the Apostles, his brethren, and narrated to them what he did in Rome, and all what happened to him with the Emperor Tiberius.

After this the Apostles desired to see the Virgin Mary and said : "We have seen our brother John, perchance we shall not be unworthy to see our lady, the Virgin Mary,[2] before our death." While the Apostles were saying this, lo the pure Virgin appeared to them in great glory. They fell on their faces before the majesty of the precious robe which she was wearing. She came to James and John and raised them first, then she raised the rest of the Apostles, and began to tell them about a part only of the heavenly glory found in the abode of rest, and informed them that she saw Pilate, his wife and his children in a great glory while the cross of Her Son was shining on them. After having told them this she disappeared from their sight.[3]

And I Gamaliel had learnt the art of writing, the science of Judaism[4] and that of the Apostles our Fathers, and had also stepped in the science of the philosophers until I had acquired the knowledge of the right answer, and learnt the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord Christ,[5] and the miracles which He performed, and what happened to the vizier of the Emperor, and to Galilus and the

[1] P. : "In the country of the Armenians, down to our own day." On the different representations of the Christ see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 511-518 and 874-880. I do not precisely know to which image the author refers as found in Asia Minor or Armenia. There seems to be no relation whatever between the picture of our Lord as drawn by John the Apostle and the account of the *History of the Likeness of Christ*, edited and translated by Budge in 1899, pp. 157-210 (of the text).

[2] There are here verbal differences in the narration.

[3] M. 355 omits this sentence.

[4] P. : "And the books of our fathers."

[5] M. 355 : "the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and His resurrection from the dead."

Emperor Tiberius, and I put all to writing and composed it as a memorial[1] of the holy resurrection.

(The final words of the story in M. 127 which should have stood above on p. 274 are) :

I beseech you, O brethren, I the weak Cyriacus, to pray for me in order that God may forgive my mistakes (through) His Son Jesus Christ who suffered for us by His will, and release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin. We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past life, which we have committed with knowledge or without knowledge. As He has rendered us here worthy of His knowledge, may He assemble us all in His heavenly Kingdom, through the grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

(The final words of the story in M. 355 are) :

And I beseech you to pray for me and to forgive me, me the weak Hyriacus. Pray for me so that the Lord may forgive me my mistakes, He who is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who suffered for us by His will. May He release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin, He who is the Christ of the worlds and the Saviour of all ! We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past lives, which we committed with knowledge or which we committed without knowledge. May He forgive them all in the greatness of His mercy ! And as He has assembled us here may He render us worthy to assemble in His kingdom, in the heavenly Jerusalem ! May the Grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ be with us. To Him be glory in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds.[2] It has ended by the help of God.

(The final words and the colophon of P. are) :—

. . . Because He, the men-loving God, who saved us by His cross, will also save us and forgive us in His divinity. As He has rendered us worthy of the joy of His resurrection may He render us also worthy to assemble in His eternal kingdom, in order that we may

[1] P : " I wrote all these to you and placed it as a memorial." As stated above M. 127 places this colophon of Gamaliel after the crucifixion of Pilate where he ends the story.

[2] A Ḳur'ānic expression.

bless and glorify His holy name. To Him are due glory, honour, and worship in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Here ends by the help of God the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, of his wife and children. May their intercession be with all the children of baptism. Amen. And the weak copyist, who is a sinner, implores all those who come across this life, and all those who read it and hear it to ask for the forgiveness of his sins. He who says a bad word shall be met with its equal, but he who finds a mistake and corrects it, the Lord will improve for him this world and the world to come with His peace. Amen.

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ܟܕ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܐܠ ܓܠܓܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܢܣܒܬ ܠܝ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܐܡ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܢܣܒ

ܐ[ܐܡܪ] ܠ ܐܟܬܘ ܐ[ܗܘ ܕܐܡ ܚܟܡ ܗܘ

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ [1] ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [2] ܘܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ ܒܟܠ ܟܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [3] ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ .

ܐܠܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘ [4] ܡܢ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܫܐܠ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܐܚ ܘܐܚܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [5] ܘܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [6] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [7] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [8] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [9] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [10] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [11] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [12] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [13] ܒܟܠ ܟܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [14] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [15] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [16] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [17] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [18] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [19] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [20] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ [21] ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܩܝܡܢܝ .

[1] الآخر الصوت. [2] مكانه. [3] Adds الكلمات. [4] Adds أيضاً. [5] Adds هكذا أيضاً لم يقدر أحد أن يقاوم. P سافختاني [6] انا صرخت الى الاب بتنهد for ܐܦܩܕ, and adds يا ابتاه في يديك اسلم روحي. [7] مكرر. [8] Repeats. [9] Both add هذا. [10] P adds وقبلت الكاس المختوم على ساير البشر وهكذا اطلب. [11] الكلمات. [12] Omits. [13] Adds حكمة. [14] لم. [15] P is كمثل ابن وحيد يسال ابيه الموت كي افتدى بموتي موت ادم الذى قتلته الخطية وطرحه حكم الموت الى الجحيم. نعم يا امي انا تذكرت ما ناله. [16] P يا هولاى لا تشكوا الى آدم الرجل فانتهرته قايلا حل هذا كله بابنك وحيدك. [17] P فانك ليس بعد تنهض تمسك ادم ولا تطرحه الى العمق لاني هوذا قد اتيت لاحطم. [18] هذا. الاول لانه خلقة يدى وهو مكرم عندى اكثر من جميعكم نعم يا امي حتى. [19] P العمق. [20] كلمة. [21] P

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭ̀ⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

ܥܡ ܟܬܒ ܐܢ ܐܡ ܐܒ ܐܡ ܐܒ ܐܡ ܐܒ

ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܚܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ [1]ܘܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܒܫܠܡ ܕܐܬ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܀ [2]ܐܡܝܢ ܀ [3]ܘܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܒܫܠܡ ܕܐܬ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܀ [4]ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܗܕܐ ܡܐ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܝ ܒܐܪ ܡܢ ܫܡܥ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܡ ܫܡܥ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܡ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ ܐܦ

ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ [1]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ
ܗܘ [2]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ
ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ
[3]ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ
ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ
[4]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ
ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ
ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ
ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ
ܠܐ

[1] ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܗܟܝ ܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ

ܗܝ ܐܝ ܗܘ ܕ[1]ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܟܠ ܐܝ ܕܒܗ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ̈ܚ ܟܠ ܡ[2]ܐ ܕܡ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܝ ܕܒ ܗ ܐ ܗ ܐ ܗ ܐ

ونحن نطلب من ملك سيدنا ورياسته ان يخلصنا منه لانه [1] P

[2] ܐܬܬܐ (*sic*). [3] ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܠܐ. P بهوا. [4] Both add ܗܢܘܢ ܕ.

[5] ܐܡܪ. [6] ܐܡܪ. [7] ܐܡܪ. [8] ܒܗ. [9] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐܒܐ.

[10] Omits. [11] P. adds على الملك. [12] Both ܒܝܬ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. [13] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܝ.

[14] ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ. [15] Both omit. [16] ܒܝܬ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ. [17] Omits.

[18] Adds ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ. [19] ܐܡܪ. [20] ܐܡܪ. And P وكانوا بعضهم حاضر المطالعة

وهم يشتكوا في. [21] ܐܡܪ.

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ [1]ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ

ܗܘ ܕܟܝܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܕܘܗ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܙܠ

ܒܟܠܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܘܣܦ ܐܚܝܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܐܢ . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܘܗ
ܕܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܒܪܝ ܡܝܬ [ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ] [1] ܚܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܚܙܝܬ .
ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܣܓܕ ܠܟ ܘܐܦ ܐܡܐ ܘܐܚܝܟ ܢܬܐ ܢܣܓܕ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ
ܕܐܒܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܒܝܬ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܒܝܬ

الحي الذى لا يموت وله الحياة الابدية وهو الذى ياخذ انفس الاحيا والاموات وهو [1] P
المعطي الحياة. [2] حكمه. [3] Adds هذا الملك. [4] P تكون ودينونته (*sic*)
عليكم وعلى اولادكم. [5] هذا. [6] Omits. [7] Omits. [8] Omits.
[9] حتى يدخل هذا الملك. [10] الكرسي. [11] Both هذه
هي: [12] P adds ففعل بهم كذلك. [13] هذا هذه.
[14] مكتفين اليدين الى خلف. [15] P والاعوان تسحبهم برجليهم على الارض ووجوههم ممرغين
على التراب. [16] Both add وصلبوه. [17] Both add واوقدوا النار.
[18] Both الملك هذا الملك الذى. [19] Both الكرسي. [20] هذا.
[21] Both حكمه. And P adds الى الملك.

[1] Both omit. [2] Both add ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܬ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢ. [3] Both ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. [4] Both ܐܡܪ. [5] Both omit. [6] P adds موثوقين. [7] P adds مثل بيلاطس. [8] Both add ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܢܬܬܒ. [9] ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ. [10] Both omit. [11] Adds ܐܦ. [12] Both omit. [13] ܐܡܪ. [14] Both ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܕ ܐܬ. [15] Adds ܟܕ. [16] Both ܐܡܪ. [17] Omits. [18] Omits. [19] Both add ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ. [20] Both ܐܡܪ. [21] P مدينة الملك. [22] Both add ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ.

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܬ ܗܟܝܡ ܘܐܬ ܐܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܒܚܕ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܢ ܬܪܥܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܗܘ ܕ

ا [1] [omit] حبلهمه ولمه ٥٨٦ . ٥٥٥٥٥٥ هلمه ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥

ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓ ⲁⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ [1].

ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ [2] ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ [3] ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܒܪ ܕܘܝܕ [1] ܪܚܡ ܥܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܪܝܡ ܠܒܐ ܘܪܘܚ ܬܪܝܨ ܒܓܘܐ ܝܬ ܠܝ [2] ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܝܫ ܠܐ ܬܣܒ ܡܢܝ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܟ ܠܐ ܬܫܩܠ ܡܢܝ ܗܒ ܠܝ ܚܕܘܬ ܕܦܘܪܩܟ ܘܪܘܚ ܢܨܒܐ ܬܣܥܕܢܝ ܘܒܪܘܚ ܕܝܠܟ ܢܣܡܟ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܠܦ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܚܛܝ [3] ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܕܝܠ ܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܠܦ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܚܛܝ [4] ܐܠܗ ܕܝ ܐܦ ܐܠܦ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܚܛܝ [5] ܐܠܗ ܕܝ ܐܦ ܐܠܦ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܚܛܝ

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܥܒܕ [1][ܗܟ ܕܥܒܕ] ܠܐ ܬܕܥ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ [2][ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܕܬܥܒܕ] ܗܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ [3]ܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܗܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ [4][ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ] ܐܠܐ ܐܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܗܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ

ܒܗ ܐܝܬܝ ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ

ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ

[1] Omits. [2] Both add ... [3] Both ... [4] add ... [5] ... and P ... [6] Both add ... [7] ... [8] ... [9] Both omit. [10] ... [11] ... [12] Adds ... [13] Both ... [14] ... [15] Both ... [16] Both ... [17] Omits. [18] Both ... [19] Both omit. [20] Both omit. [21] Both omit. [22] ... [23] Both ...

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܝܠܛܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܝܬ ܗܪܟܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܩ ܠܡܚܙܝܟ ܘܠܡܫܡܥ ܡܠܬܟ ܘܠܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܫܘܠܡܟ ܘܐܢܬ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܘܒܥܝ ܠܡܫܟܚ ܠܝ ܘܠܡܫܬܘܒܒ ܠܝ ܒܫܘܠܡ

ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ [1]ܘܟܬܒ . ܠܡܐ ܠ ܡܨܠܚ ܠܗ ܥܡܠ ܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪ
ܐܠܐ ܒܡܫܝܬܗ [2] .

ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܝܟܘܢ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܐܢܫ [3]ܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܡ ܫܐ ܐܠܗ ܠܗ
ܠܡ ܐܠܐ ܒܡ ܫܐ ܐܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܡ ܐܠܐ ܒܡ ܫܐ ܐܠܗ ܠܗ [4]ܒܥܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ
ܐܠ [5]ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ
ܐܠ

ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܢ ܐܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܡ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܢ ܐܝ

ܗܘܢ ܕܐܡ ܕܐ ܕܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ [1]ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [2]ܗܘܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܡܠܟܐ [3]ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [4]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [5]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [6]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [7]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [8]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [9]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [10]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [11]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [12]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [13]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [14]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [15]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [16]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [17]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐ ܐܝܟ [18]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ

[1] Adds ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [2] Both ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [3] Both ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ and M 355 adds ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [4] Omits. [5] P يردى. [6] P المسيح and M 355 ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [7] Both ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [8] Both omit. [9] P adds نشاب. [10] P فتناغل جسده كله بالدود. [11] Both omit. [12] ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [13] P adds ذليلين. [14] Both add ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ and P adds في التابوت. [15] ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [16] Both omit. [17] Adds ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ. [18] Both ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ.

[1] and P omits. [2] Both add . [3] and P وجع قلبه. [4] Both add . [5] Both . [6] Adds . [7] P adds امانة. [8] Omits. [9] Omits. [10] Both . [11] P وليحيه قبرك المقدس كمثل ساير الناس الذى رايناهم and M 355 and the rest. [12] Both . [13] P adds له المجد الى الابد. [14] Adds . [15] Both . [16] P adds اذ هو لم ينهض سريعا and M 355 . [17] Both . [18] P اعترا and M 355 . [19] P ايوان. [20] Both omit. [21] Both . [22] Both omit. [23] P يسوع and M 355 . [24] Both omit. [25] Both omit.

[1] الصاحب. [2] and P adds الملك الصغير. [3] Both add صبوة. [4] P على and 355 هـ. [5] P adds ابن الملك. [6] Both omit. [7] Adds الصحابة. [8] Adds على الصحف. [9] صحابة. [10] P adds الملك. [11] مختبل and P مخبل. [12] Both ملك كان. [13] Adds بعهد. [14] P omits and adds وعظم مملكته وسلطانه. [15] P adds في العالم جميعه. [16] على ابنه هو ملكه الملك الصغير and P proceeds differently. [17] Adds الصغير هذا. [18] الملك. [19] الملك ابنه الصغير and proceeds differently, and P is somewhat different. [20] Both add الثلاثة الملوك.

[1] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܒܗ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ

[1] Both omit. [2] Both add. [3] Both add. [4] Both add. [5] Both add. [6] Both add (P جعل). [7] Adds. P omits and both add (P وكان ابن الملك الذى كان ميت). [8] Both add. [9] Both add. [10] P ولده and both add. [11] P للصبي قيصر and M 355 adds. [12] P omits. [13] Adds. [14] Both add. [15] P فارسلته. [16] Adds. P is totally different. [17] Adds. [18] Both omit. [19] P is differently worded. [20] Both add (P omits). [21] Both add.

[1] Both الحكم احد. [2] P وذابت اصابعها في التراب. [3] Both omit. [4] P وهذه المطالعة لابوتك كن معافا بالرب آمين and M 355 omits. [5] Both add الكهنة. [6] P عند [7] Both add ميخائيل. [8] Both add احد ٥٥٥ الى انا قيصر ابنك كتبت هذه الرسالة [9] P صار من الفرح كمثل ليس هو في عقله. [10] P يسوع المسيح. [11] P and احدك بيدى. [12] Both احد حاف من هذا. [13] Both omit and P ثم نهض ودخل. [14] Both omit. [15] Both الدينة. [16] P ننظر. [17] P worded differently, هذا وامر [18] Both مكان. [19] P ان نظرنا نحن ابننا في الحياة. [20] P الملك من ساعته ان يمضوا بذلك الرسول الى الحبس.

ܡܫܡܥ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܦ ܡܫܡܟ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [1]. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [2]. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [3]ܒܟܠܗܝ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [4][ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ] ܒܟܠ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܢܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [5]. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ [ܒܟܠ ܕܒܥܐ] ܕܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [6][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [7][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [8][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [9][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [10][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [11][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [12][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ [13][ ] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܩܒܠ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ

[1] Omits. [2] Both omit and P worded differently, فالتقوا بعضهم بعض في الطريق. [3] Adds ܒܟܠ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܢܫܬܒܥ ܒܗ. [4] P نظروه. [5] Both omit and P worded differently. [6] Both ܒܟܠ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ. [7] Both omit. [8] Omits. P worded differently, لان الملك لما سمع بحضور ابنه خرج للقايه بسرعة حتى ارتجت المدينة لخروجه ولقايه ولاسيما لما شاهدوا اهل المدينة. [9] Omits. P worded differently, صرخ بصوت عال قايلا لك. [10] Omits. [11] Omits. P worded differently, وانا اليوم صرت كانني شاهدت الرب يسوع مع اني كنت فى كل وقت مزمنا. [12] Both add ܒܟܠ ܕܒܥܐ. [13] Both add ܐܡܪ.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ [1]ܘܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ [2]ܘܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܝ ܘܠܐ ܩܒܠܬܘܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܩܒܠܬ ܐܢ

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܠܡ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܒܩ ܠܝ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܝ ܕܐܡܪ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܫܠܡ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܕܬܫܐܠ ܘܬܒܥܐ ܡܢܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܥܒܕ

[1] [illegible] ܐܦ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܥܡ ܫܠܡ ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܡ ܫܠܡ

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ ܠܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܠܡܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܠܛܢ
ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ
ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ
ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ
ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ
ܘܠܐ

قد قتلت[1] الوالى الذى مكنهم من صلبه. [2] Omits. امه لننظرها فانه بلغنى [3]
فنخضر ها الى عندنا. [5] كل من يراها يكرمها و يحترمها ولا [6] Omits. [4]
فلما سمع الملك هذا الكلام من زوجته. [8] عليه كثيرا. [9] وداياتٍ وازمة [10]
ملك [11] مرتمريم. [12] Omits. [13] Adds ويأخذ منه الجوايز الحسنة. [14]
امي الحبيبة انك اقمتي. [18] التي تضحك [17] Adds الملوك المخلص. [12]
كنيسة. [21] معي. [20] Omits. [19] Omits. [16] Omits. [15]

[1]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܐܢܐ [2]ܐܡ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܡ ܐܢܐ

لانها ليس انتقلت من هذا العالم لتعب لكنها مضت لتستريح الى مساكن [1] Omits. [2]
وانا عزيتها بهذا كي [5] .قبل ان [4] .وكما رايتموها صاعدة [3] .النياح والحياة والسرور الدايم
اليس انى ارسلكم [7] .النياح والحياة الدايمة. انا عزيتها بهذا حتى انها تعلم [6] .تطوف
.الاطفال المولودين [11] .احبا [10] Omits. [9] .ونظرتم [8] .دفوع كثيرة
هوذا [15] .والبكاء والكابة والتعب والمشقة التي نالتهم [14] .قلبها [13] .على سواعدها ايضا [12]
.كما يجب لها على الارض [17] .يقدر Adds [16] .ملوك العالم يريدون يدعوها ويعطوها
[18] امامها. [19] Omits. [20] الرب. [21] السماء.

[1]ܫܒܥܬ ܐܒܘܝܐ [2]ܢܚܡܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܐܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [3]ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [4]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [5].

[6]ܠܡܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [7]ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [8]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [9]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [10]ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [11]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [12]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [13]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [14]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [15]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [16]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [17]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [18]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [19]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [20]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ [21].

[1] والسبعة ابواق. [2] يخمد. [3] Omits. [4] بحلولك. [5] Omits. [6] من اجل [7] Adds قيصر الملك. [8] رايت وبما فعلوه اليهود بي على عود. امه العذرى لرسله الاطهار. [9] Omits. [10] ايام قلايل حضر اجناد من عند الملك الى [11] وصحبتهم دايات امنة وازمة وقهارمة. [12] Omits. [13] Omits and inverts the order. [14] Omits. [15] بالجملة بارادة الله وتحننه انا هو [16] Omits. [17] وخليل. [18] اجابه قايلا. [19] لانها مضت [20] يستحق ان ينجي يا سيدى الملك المدعو من الله بهذا الاسم [21] الرب يسوع المسيح هي نور وحق ايها الملك لانه برحمته تواضع ونزل الينا نحن المساكين ودعانا اخوته واصدقا ابيه لمحبته للبشر.

[1]وسألوه ان يعلق الصليب كما [2]فعلوا في الاول
وصلبوه حتى ماتوا [3]وانطلقوا.

[4]وكان الملك [5]العظيم [6]قد اخذ [7]من [8]اللتان [9]قانا [10]الجليل
وامر ان يحضروهما. فلما [11]ان [12]اخذا [13]مكان
[14]يجعلوها [15]فيه [16]ونحن معه [17]فيه [18]ينبغي لك
[19]اعني الاله واعماله التي [20]عند صلبه [21]وشاهدت كلما صنعوه به اليهود وهو على عود
الصليب and adds وكيف طعنوه في جنبه الالهي بالحربة والاتعاب التي قبلها عن خلاص العالم
كله. [22] Omits. [23] Omits.

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܒܩ ܠܗ ܘܢܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܘܢܬܩܘܡ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܝܬ ܘܢܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܬܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܢܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܘܢܬܝܒ ܠܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܦܥܠ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܘܢܫܠܡ ܠܟܠ

ܗܘ [1]ܕܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܝܬ̈ܐ
ܠܐ ܫܢܝ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܗܘ [2]ܕܡܝܬ ܡܢ ܡܝܬ̈ܐ
ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܐܢܟܝ ܠܐ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܡܐܡܪ ܕܐܢ ܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ.
ܗܘ [3]ܕܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ.

ܘܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܡܝܬ̈ܐ
ܕܐܦ ܐܢ [4]ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܡܝܬ̈ܐ [5]ܫܡܥ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܘܝܐ
ܗܘ [6]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܡܝܬ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [7]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ [8]ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [9]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [10]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [11]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [12]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [13]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [14]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [15]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [16]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [17]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [18]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [19]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [20]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [21]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [22]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [23]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [24]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [25]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [26]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [27]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [28]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ
ܗܘ [29]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܦ

[1] Adds العذرى. [2] من الموتي هوكان مثل هذا اليوم. [3] Omits all.
[4] تقول ليوحنا ثم خفى عنهم الصوت. [5] سمع الملك هذا الكلام العجيب. [6] عقله.
[7] Adds قايما على رجليه. [8] Omits. [9] Omits. [10] Omits. [11] تيدا. [12] الارمن
[13] Adds المغبوط. [14] Omits. [15] Omits. [16] من. [17] وللوقت
الى يومنا هذا. [18] Omits. [19] Omits. [20] فعله بارض. [21] Omits. [22] من.
اختطف المغبوط. [23] Omits. [24] وكانوا. [25] انا قد راينا. [26] نبصر. [27] Omits.
[28] عند ذلك [29] Adds لا يوصف. حضرت اليهم سيدتنا كلنا العذرى مرتمريم.

[1]. [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9].

[10] [11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [17].

[18]

1 فسقطوا الابا عند ما نظروا الى فخر. 2 عليها. 3 Adds للوقت.
4 واقامت بقية. 5 عظم. 6 الذى نظرته ومواضع. 7 وشهدت لهم.
8 رات. 9 Adds وهم فى فرح لا يوصف ثم انتهت معهم فى القول الى هذا الحد وتركتهم ومضت.
10 اعرف علم الكتابة. 11 وكتب ابانا. 12 تدربت. 13 Adds هولاى.
14 Adds بالكلام. 15 قيامة السيد المسيح. 16 وزير الملك.
17 كتبت بهذا جميعه اليكم. 18 Reverses the order ووضعته تذكارا للقيامة المقدسة.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܦܫܢ ܒܨܠܝܒܗ ܘܢܦܫ ܠܢ ܘܢܫܒܘܚ ܠܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗܫܐ ܘܒܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ.

[1] ... ܘܡܫܒܚ ܠܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ... ܕܐܒܐ ... ܘܒܪܗ ... ܘܪܘܚܐ ... ܗܫܐ ... ܥܠܡ ... ܐܡܝܢ.

[1] The end is in P : لانه الاله محب البشر الذى خلصنا بصليبه هو يخلصنا ايضا ويغفر لنا بلاهوته وكما جعلنا مستحقين فرح قيامته يجعلنا كلنا مستحقين الاجتماع فى ملكوته الابدية كي نبارك ونمجد اسمه القدوس هذا الذى ينبغى له المجد والاكرام والسجود مع ابيه الصالح والروح القدس الان وكل اوان والى دهر الداهرين امين. The colophon of P is as follows : كملت بعون الله قصة شهادة بيلاطس وزوجته واولاده شفاعتهم تكون مع جميع بنى المعمودية امين والناقل المسكين الخاطى يسال كل واقف على هذه السيرة وكل من قرا ومن يسمع يدعوا له بمغفرة الخطايا وكل من قال سي فله امثاله ومن وجد غلط واصلحه الرب يصلح دنياه واخرته بسلام من الرب امين.

Variants of the Cod. Vat. Syr. 199.

P.	L. or N.	
283,	n. 10,	...
284,	l. 10,	after ... adds: ...
285,	n. 4,	...
	l. 7,	for ... has: ...
286,	l. 3,	after ... adds: ...
	l. 14,	omits: ...
287,	l. 9,	omits: ...
	n. 11,	...
289,	l. 7,	after ... adds: ...
	l. 11,	...
	n. 12,	...
	l. 15,	for ... has ... and for ... has always ...
	n. 20,	...
290,	l. 10,	for ... has: ...
	n. 24,	after ... adds: ...
291,	n. 18,	...

P.	L. or N.	
292,	n. 4,	ܟܬܒ
	l. 9,	for ܐܬܪܥ has: ܐܬܪܥ
	l. 20,	before ܕܡܗܪ has: ܚܕ
293,	n. 13,	has ܐܚܕ for: ܚܕ
	ll. 15, 16,	omits them.
	l. 19,	for ܚܕ has: ܐ
294,	n. 13,	omits all its text.
	l. 17,	after ܐܬܪ adds: ܟܬ ܕܟܬܒ
295,	l. 3,	omits: ܟܬ
	l. 6,	ܕܥܒܕ ܟܬܒ
296,	l. 5,	after ܕܐ adds: ܐܐ
	l. 20,	omits: ܟ
297,	l. 4,	for ܐܟܬ has: ܕ
	l. 8,	for ܕܐ has: ܕ
	l. 19,	for ܟܬ has: ܟ
298,	n. 7,	adds: ܟ ܕ ܐ ܕ
	l. 11,	for ܐ has: ܐ
	l. 15,	for ܟ has: ܟ
299,	l. 1,	for ܐ has: ܐ
	l. 6,	for ܐ has: ܐ
	l. 8,	before ܐ has: ܚ ܟ
300,	l. 1,	omits: ܕ
	l. 13,	for ܚ has: ܚ
301,	l. 7,	for ܐ has: ܐ
302,	l. 5,	for ܟ has: ܟ
	l. 10,	for ܟ has: ܟ ܕ

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